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FBIS-EEU-90-130 *6 July 1990*

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Further on Asylum-Seekers at Foreign Embassies

Greek Envoy Views Events

NC0407130790 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1130 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Interview with Greek Charge d'Affairs Pandelis Karkambasis by Dina Oikonomidhou in Tirana; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Karkambasis] Tirana is calm, that is what I can tell you.

[Oikonomidhou] There have been reports of clashes between the security authorities and Albanian demonstrators. Are these reports true?

[Karkambasis] There have been incidents.

[Oikonomidhou] REUTERS, which cites your statement....

[Karkambasis, interrupting] No....

[Oikonomidhou] ...That at least four people were injured in clashes in Tirana. Is this true?

[Karkambasis] This is not my statement. This statement was made by the [West] German Foreign Ministry. As far as I know, there are injured people in the German Embassy. I have seen four of them with my own eyes.

[Oikonomidhou] Are there any casualties, any such report?

[Karkambasis] Personally I do not know. [as heard]

[Oikonomidhou] Nothing. What is the situation in the Greek Embassy? Have any Albanians gone there—have they taken refuge there?

[Karkambasis] We have five fugitives who are [words indistinct] well as is also the case with us, the embassy personnel.

[Oikonomidhou] Does the situation create anxiety about the Greek minority?

[Karkambasis] I will not comment on this.

[Oikonomidhou] A last question Mr. Karkambasis: The Albanian news agency reported a short while ago that the possibility is being considered to grant visas and passports to approximately 10,000 people who want to leave Albania.

[Karkambasis] This is the first time I have heard this. We have not noticed anything like this.

[Oikonomidhou] Concerning the bomb which, according to news agencies, exploded in the Cuban Embassy yesterday evening, have you heard about it?

[Karkambasis] We heard it last night and, until this morning when it was reported in the Albanian press, we merely were aware of some explosion. This morning we were informed that it took place in the Cuban Embassy.

[Oikonomidhou] Without any casualties?

[Karkambasis] We do not know anything about casualties. As I told you, we are aware of the reported carried by the Albanian Telegraph Agency.

[Oikonomidhou] A last question. When and where did these clashes take place?

[Karkambasis] As far as I know, they took place in the area [where the embassies are located] in Tirana on 1 and 2 July.

[Oikonomidhou] Do you know if there were any casualties?

[Karkambasis] There have been rumors, but I am not personally aware of anything.

[Oikonomidhou] What slogans were used in these demonstrations?

[Karkambasis] No, no. I did not hear any slogans. I heard some voices quite far from our embassy building, so I do not know if there were any slogans or what they were.

[Oikonomidhou] Nor if the demonstration was large?

[Karkambasis) No, I do not know that.

Greek Spokesman on Refugees

NC0407054190 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 0400 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] At least 200 Albanian citizens have taken refuge in foreign embassies in Tirana seeking political asylum because of the tension in the Albanian capital during the past three days.

Specifically, 85 Albanians took refuge in the FRG Embassy, 15 in the French Embassy, 10 in the Italian Embassy, 25 in the Polish Embassy, 12 in the Algerian Embassy, and 17 in the CSFR Embassy. Unconfirmed reports say that the police opened fire on the night of 2 July against the Albanians who were trying to enter the embassies and injured many of them.

According to the Albanian news agency, the country's authorities had to use force to disperse groups of people who were threatening the Albanian working people. People on both sides received slight injuries, and the police arrested a small number of people to conduct the necessary investigations. Sources in Bonn, Paris, and Sofia said that their countries will secure free departure to the country of their choice for the refugees who fled to their embassies.

In a statement to REUTER, Greek Ambassador in Tirana Pandelis Karkambasis said the Albanian police injured at least four persons, one of them seriously, during clashes in Tirana.

The government spokesman in Athens said that our country continues to following with particular interest the events and developments in Albania both because it is a neighboring country and because it is always interested in the fate of the Greek minority in that country.

Hungarian Envoy Expects More Refugees

LD0407141190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Interview with Hungarian ambassador to Tirana Mihaly Kornidesz by Janos Molnar; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Molnar] Have any more refugees arrived at the embassy since yesterday?

[Kornidesz] No, we had and have four refugees here.

[Molnar] Is anything being done in this affair?

[Kornidesz] We are having continual talks with the Albanian Foreign Ministry. The Albanian refugees here did not believe that if they leave the building, they would receive passports within one to two days. They are afraid. [passage omitted]

[Molnar] Can more refugees be expected?

[Kornidesz] In all probability, yes.

[Molnar] What is the situation in the city?

[Kornidesz] There was a demonstration the day before yesterday. They also acknowledge that there were injuries on both sides.

Refugees Ensconced in Hungarian Embassy

LD0507123190 Budapest MTI in English 1025 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 5 (MTI)—Janos Herman, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed MTI that two more Albanian citizens—a man and a woman—made their way into the territory of the Hungarian Embassy in Tirana, bringing the number of refugees their to six.

Talks with Albanian officials are under way (also by the joint delegations of embassies concerned) but no reports were received of any new developments as yet.

Aid packages are being forwarded by the Hungarian Red Cross to the Albanian citizens staying in the building of the Hungarian Embassy.

Incidents at Embassies Summarized

AU0507121890 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 5 Jul 90 p 2

[Wilfried Seywald (APA) report from Tirana: "Embassies as Refuge From the Comrades; Bloody Incidents and Demonstrations Herald Changes in Albania"]

[Text] Tirana—The Balkan country along the southern part of the Adriatic Sea, which is rich in natural scenery and poor in industry, no longer offers a real future to many comrades. In addition, there is the fear of the omnipresent police, multiplying rumors about bloody incidents at the borders, one-sided media reports, and the protracted implementation of the hesitating reform steps.

For some weeks a few Albanians have been able to enter one of the Western embassies in order to request political asylum there. Several people were caught, mistreated, and arrested. It is unknown whether they were released. Those who were fortunate enough to get into the embassies could look forward to freedom and departure for the West.

This was also the case last Friday [29 June] when a group of about 20 persons started a "surprise attack" on the Turkish Embassy in the city center around 0700. The police guards were completely overwhelmed. The result: Nine of the refugees were allowed to leave for Turkey via Athens already on Saturday, more than 10 followed on Tuesday [3 July]. Allegedly, there are no traces at the moment of those who were caught by the security forces "during the escape."

In the view of a Western diplomat, tensions increased "unbearably" over the weekend. On Sunday evening incidents occurred at several embassies at the same time. Four or five Albanians stormed into the FRG Embassy; one of them was shot. The number of uniformed policemen and plainclothes members of the Sigurimi, the secret police, was increased around all foreign missions.

Truck Drove Onto the Premises of the FRG Mission

On Monday evening one thing led to another. At 1845 a truck with 33 men, women, and children, ran full speed through an outer wall of the new premises which the FRG Embassy moved only into three weeks ago. Policemen started to shot immediately. One diplomat spoke of 50 shots. Three persons were reportedly hit, one of them was injured seriously. Others were injured by the shock of the crash.

Around 2200 the same thing happened again. A truck with four people crashed through the brick wall of the Greek Embassy. At the Italian Embassy two heavy trucks with 16 people crashed through the embassy's fence.

Near the foreigners' quarter along Skanderbeg Street to Durres dozens of people tried to demonstrate. On Tuesday morning at least 200 refugees sat in a total of nine embassies. The Chinese was excluded. The missions of France, Poland, Bulgarian, Hungary, the CSFR, and Egypt were also affected.

Since the authorities do not provide any information and no foreign journalists are accredited to Albania, the presence of the media is practically zero. Inquiries by international news agencies were still not answered by Wednesday morning. However, Tirana reacted quickly and directly to the publication of the unusual incident at the wall of the FRG Embassy.

In a statement on Tuesday afternoon the refugees in the embassy were called "hooligans, vagabonds, and former prisoners," who "entered an embassy by force" and

"threw stones, bricks, and other objects at the officials appointed to keep order." Members of their families gathered, blocked traffic, attacked policemen, broke shop windows, and made noise. There were injuries to persons on both sides, some of them were arrested, the statement says.

Incidents at the Border to Kosovo

At the same time there are rumors among unemployed (officially: "people unwilling to work") and dissident young people about events, which happened at the border to Kosovo over the past weeks. There were several border incidents in the Korca region, where Albanian border guards shot at fleeing Albanians. There were even real fights, which killed at least 14 people, it is said.

In the Shkoder region in the north a 15-year-old boy was reportedly shot dead at the beginning of June because he tried to leave the country illegally. The body was found and then carried through the town, where unrest started. A total of 20 demonstrators were arrested, but were released again for fear of greater unrest, it is said.

More Deaths Reported

AU0507123590 Paris AFP in English
1146 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Vienna, July 5 (AFP)—Negotiations to end the embassy-refugee crisis in Tirana were bogged down Thursday as it was reported that Albanian security forces killed at least three people outside foreign embassies. More than 200 people seeking to leave Albania were still sheltering in foreign embassies on Thursday.

The Austrian news agency APA, which has the only western journalist in Tirana, quoted a "highly-placed diplomat" as saying that at least two people were killed outside the West German mission on Monday.

APA also said that an Albanian woman was beaten to death by police outside the Chinese Embassy on June 25 after a failed bid to climb into the compound. Quoting a worker, it said the 26-year-old woman had tried to enter the grounds with three male companions, but her dress got caught on the fence. She was beaten senseless as the woman Chinese Ambassador looked on and died later in hospital, APA said.

In Tirana, a Western diplomat who declined to be named said by telephone that negotiations begun on Wednesday over the future of more than 200 Albanian refugees holed up in 17 embassies were continuing "but nothing yet points to an early solution". Contacted from Athens, he said that the situation appeared to be calm but that the authorities had not said that they were prepared to provide 15,000 passports and exit visas for people wanting to emigrate. [passage omitted] In Paris on Wednesday European diplomatic sources had said that Albania was prepared to allow up to 15,000 Albanians to leave quickly.

The Hungarian ambassador Antal Heisal told the Hungarian newspaper KURIER by telephone that families were able to speak to the refugees by interphone, and that thousands of people assembled in Tirana's main square on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

In Bonn, the West German foreign ministry said it had no knowledge of people being killed as they sought refuge in the embassy, although it had earlier reported security forces removing the bodies of people who appeared to have been killed in disturbances. The West German embassy is sheltering 86 people, Bonn sources said.

APA reported that foreign diplomats in Tirana were "concerned" about the situation, and several embassies had decided to repatriate the families of staff. The leader of the diplomatic corps, the Yugoslav ambassador Novak Pribicevic, had raised these worries with a representative of the government whom he had met late on Wednesday on behalf of all foreign diplomats. A director of the Albanian Foreign Ministry Bashki Dino repeated that his government considered the refugees to be "hooligans, vagabonds and fugitives from justice", the APA correspondent said.

In Poland the Gazeta newspaper, quoting Warsaw foreign ministry sources, reported that 46 Albanians, including six women and a five-year-old boy had taken refuge in the Polish embassy.

APA reported that a bomb attack which damaged the Cuban Embassy on Tuesday was in retaliation for the mission's decision to turn back two refugees who had tried to enter it on Friday. The men, aged 29 and 32, were arrested oustide the embassy. The elder one committed suicide in prison by banging his head against a wall, APA said quoting unnamed sources.

It also said the Sampista, a unit of the Sigurimi political police, had broken up a gathering of several hundred young people outside a cinema in the diplomatic district on Monday. The demonstrators had shouted "hit us, kill your mothers, kill your children." The political police are controlled by Mrs. Hoxha.

Youths Request Asylum at Turkish Embassy

TA0507141490 Ankara ANATOLIA in English
1402 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Tirana (A.A)—Two Albanian youths who took refuge in the Turkish Embassy in Tirana amid an intensive wave of defections to the embassies of a number of foreign countries in the Albanian capital in the last week have requested political asylum in Turkey, the Turkish ambassador in this Balkan country said on Wednesday night.

Ambassador Teoman Surenkok told A.A. by phone that Ferdinand Guga (20) and Uljoz Zoati (20), who claimed to have relatives in the port city of Izmir on Turkey's Aegean coast, said they wanted to live in Turkey.

Surenkok said the asylum requests would be considered.

About 200 Albanians, in protest against their county's hardline communist regime have taken refuge in the Tirana embassies of Turkey, France, West Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Cuba and China.

The Albanian asylum seekers dodged police bullets to ram trucks into embassy compounds or to scale embassy walls in Tirana on Sunday and Monday. Some were reported wounded.

A number of western diplomats have said the Albanian Government is considering issuing 10,000 passports and visas to defuse growing discontent among citizens.

100 Refugees Allowed Into French Embassy

AU0507162990 Paris AFP in English 1614 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Paris, July 5 (AFP)—Albanian police allowed nearly 100 people to join 14 refugees inside the French embassy in Tirana on Thursday, French diplomatic sources here said as negotiations on the embassy refugees appeared to falter.

The new refugees arrived without incident. It appeared that they were people who had spent several hours outside the embassy, and had taken refuge in groups, the sources said.

Other embassies, including the West German and Czechoslovak embassies, had received more refugees during the afternoon, the sources said without being able to give figures.

Meanwhile in Budapest, radio Budapest reported that six more Albanians had taken refuge in the Hungarian embassy in Tirana, taking the total number of Albanians seeking shelter to 12.

During the night two Albanians had managed to slip into the embassy by evading tight security in the diplomatic quarter.

The sources in Paris said that the increase in the number of refugees was likely soon to pose serious problems for the embassies concerned, adding that "the situation appears to be developing still".

On Monday and Tuesday about 200 Albanaians took refuge in several embassies, most of them European.

Negotiations begun on Wednesday between the embassy officials and the Albanian authorities to enable the refugees to leave the country appeared to be deadlocked, the sources recalled.

Hungarian Envoy on Latest Situation

LD0507181490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Interview with Hungarian Consul Karoly (Rancsa) by Tamas Frei; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Frei] On the 15th of last month, the Albanian Government issued the passport decree which everyone in Albanian had much awaited, and which they expected would enable practically everyone to travel out of the country. To my knowledge, in the end this decree contained various restrictions, and enabled only a few privileged people to travel out of the country. It is presumed, here in Budapest, that this is what caused people to flee to the embassies. Is this so or not?

[(Rancsa)] It is not entirely the passport law that gave rise to flight to the embassies. Prior to this, some people had fled to Western embassies—to the Italian, the Greek, and the French Embassies—people whom the Albanian authorities, on the basis of agreements with the governments of the given countries, allowed for travel abroad.

[Frei] Then how do you explain that—as it appears now, early on Thursday afternoon—the Albanian Government does not intend to allow these 200 people out?

[(Rancsa)] At the moment, talks are under way between the leaders of the embassies concerned and the Albanian Foreign Ministry. Up to now, 12 people have fled to the Hungarian Embassy.

[Frei] So an additional six have fled into the embassy since this morning?

[(Rancsa)] An additional six.

[Frei] How did they get in? We had reports this morning that the Albanian police and security service had sealed the embassies' street—that is the street where the embassies can be found.

[(Rancsa)] That does not correspond with the truth. Since people have been fleeing in greater numbers to the foreign representations on this street, there has been an increased police presence, but the street has not been sealed off, so, in essence, since then there has been a constant flow of traffic, in large numbers, indeed, perhaps this is the busiest street now. The police are not preventing relatives from inquiring at the foreign representations whether their kinsmen are inside. They are trying to speak with them, too, and they are permitted to do so.

[Frei] How, in the end, did these refugees get into the Hungarian Embassy?

[(Rancsa)] The first four people climbed in over the embassy's rear wall enclosure. Then, this morning, around 0900, a man and a woman came into the embassy when the embassy's gate was opened for our chauffeur to set off for the city. A man, a woman, and a four-year-old girl came to the rear entrance of the embassy by climbing over the wall of the Egyptian ambassador's residence, and then rang the bell. They were followed most recently by the three people who came in a short time ago.

[Frei] And are they well? Were they not in danger, were they not shot at, were they able to get in without disturbance?

[(Rancsa)] No injury befell them, and the police did not run after them. They did not try to hamper them [words indistinct]

[Frei] By the way, how large is our embassy in Tirana? How many can we accomodate?

[(Rancsa)] The embassy in Tirana has two stories, but the residence is on the second story. (?One hundred people) could be accommodated standing, in the reception premises on the ground floor, but from the viewpoint of beds, perhaps 30-40 people could fit in.

I might add that the flight to the embassies is continuing. During the course of today, several fled to the neighboring French Embassy, and to the Czechoslovak Embassy. News has spread among the inhabitants, among the friends of these young people, that foreign embassies are not handing over those who are fleeing, so more are trying to go there. At the moment, there are refugees at 12 foreign embassies.

My colleagues and I were in Tirana, in the city, several times yesterday and the day before. Life is completely calm. The TANJUG report yesterday that there might have been a demonstration yesterday afternoon does not meet with reality, because at that time, several of us from the embassy were in the city, and there was neither a crowd, nor a demonstration.

[Frei] As Hungarian consul in Tirana, what do you think? Within how many days might this problem be resolved?

[(Rancsa)] I do not believe that this problem can be resolved by the weekend. To my knowledge, the Common Market countries' foreign ministers, that is the Common Market's foreign affairs committee, has discussed the matter, and they wish to hold talks with and ask the Albanian Government to allow every person who has fled to an embassy to leave for abroad.

Bulgarians Said Not Returning Refugees

AU0507184190 Sofia BTA in English
1823 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Bulgarian Embassy at Tirana Has Not Handed to The Authorities People Who Have Sought Refuge"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—None of the Albanian citizens who have sought a political asylum at the Bulgarian Embassy at Tirana has been handed to the authorities, Sofia Radio says quoting Embassy sources, protesting over incorrect information of news agencies on the matter.

The Bulgarian Embassy handed in a demarche to the Albanian Government because the Albanian who entered the yard of the Embassy yesterday was forcefully taken out by Albanian civilians.

More Seek Refuge in CSFR Embassy

LD0507203290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2000 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Albania—[Passage omitted on situation in Albania, PAP quoted] Dozens of more people sought refuge at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Tirana and asked for political asylum. All the Czechoslovak citizens are all right.

'1,000' Flock to FRG Mission

AU0607074590 Paris AFP in English
0729 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Text] Athens, July 6 (AFP)—Albanians seeking to leave the country continued to flock to embassies in Tirana on Friday, with at least 1,000 at the West German mission alone, a European diplomat in the Albanian capital said. "People are climbing the wall around the West German Embassy," the senior diplomat said by telephone. "(The embassy) looks like a railway station. There are refugees everywhere, inside and outside the mission."

The diplomat, who requested anonymity, said he believed there were between 1,000 and 1,400 asylum-seekers at the West German Embassy and Albanians seeking to emigrate were trying to get into other embassies in Tirana.

The Albanian security forces were apparently not trying to prevent crowds from gathering outside the embassies, the diplomat said. The diplomat added that embassies have not been officially notified of an Albanian government announcement that the refugees would be issued with passports.

A high-ranking European diplomat had said Thursday that between 20 and 50 people have died since Sunday in violence sparked by the rush to embassies in Tirana.

Italian Embassy Gives Refuge to 80

AU0607111490 Rome ANSA in English
1048 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Text] (ANSA) - Rome, July 6—Once police barriers were lifted around foreign embassies in Tirana Thursday afternoon, a flood of Albanians headed there seeking asylum, according to diplomatic sources reached telephonically by ANSA early Friday.

Scores of people were said to be trying to scale the three meter high walls around the Italian Embassy building which as of last night housed 80 refugees.

Some sources said that as of early Friday, some 1,300 persons had holded up in the embassies. Around 800 Albanians were inside the West German Embassy, 130 in the French Embassy, and around fifty each in the Czechoslovak and Polish Embassies. Dozens more were scattered between the embassy buildings of Hungary, Bulgaria, Egypt and Greece.

As the press continued and hundreds sought to push their way into the foreign compounds through the night,

the Army stood by and even seemed to be encouraging some to crash gates and scale walls.

More Details on Unrest

AU0607092390 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 6 Jul 90 p 3

[Wilfried Seywald report: "Facing a 'Romanian' Development?"]

[Text] Even though the Albanian Government has taken a first step toward liberalization by promising to issue passports, the chances for a peaceful settlement of the refugee question are still not very great. In particular young Albanians do not trust the authorities' promises and are panicking because of the Sigurimi state police.

On Thursday morning [5 July] hundreds of people lined up in front of almost all Western embassies in the Albanian capital of Tirana to get entry visas for other countries. In the presence of strong police forces, almost exclusively older people, who had already acquired passports and exit visas, lined up. It is said in embassy circles that the missions are not able to cope with the wave of people and the regular diplomatic services are collapsing. Since Tuesday [3 July] the embassies themselves have decided whether and under what conditions they would let the Albanian would-be emigrants into their countries.

A Western ambassador accredited to Belgrade told the AUSTRIA PRESS AGENCY, APA, that the climate during his farewell visit to Foreign Minister Reis Malile was good. The government is committed to proceed along the path of reforms and not to be influenced by the events of the past days. The authorities are interested in solving the problem of the refugees as quickly as possible, he said.

They obviously do not know how to work with these freedoms and how to establish a trusting relationship with the citizens. After 45 years of dictatorship, the citizens are justifiably afraid, in particular since plainclothes policemen are now wielding rubber batons in front of the embassies in broad daylight and nobody knows where they are coming from.

According to reports, several people were killed in the recent incidents. One man was beaten to death in front of the Italian Embassy a few days ago. Two weeks ago a man was impaled on the wire fence of the French Embassy when he was dragged back to the street by policemen. One of the refugees in the FRG mission was shot through the lung and is in the FRG Embassy. A second refugee died in the hospital. Officially it is said that the man is well but it is impossible for the ambassador to visit the hospital. Thirty injured people are reportedly in the FRG Embassy; four of them were injured by shots.

In the Chinese mission there were a total of 15 refugees at the beginning; now there are still two. The fate of the others is unknown.

It cannot be ruled out that the Sigurimi itself was behind the attack on the Cuban Embassy. The Sigurmi's members might try to strengthen the orthodox forces with the argument that the reforms lead to chaos and unrest.

It also seems possible that the police and the Army are cooperating. It looks as though the Sigurimi, which is estimated to have 30,000 members, would defend itself in the same way the Romanian Securitate did in December.

Despite positive signals from the Albanian Foreign Ministry, the foreign embassies in Tirana continue to be very worried about the further development of the refugee problem. By Wednesday evening [4 July] the number of Albanians in the 10 foreign missions had risen to 220.

Some of the ambassadors have sent their families home because their safety is no longer ensured.

According to a high-ranking diplomat, Foreign Ministry Director Bashki Dino repeated the well-known view of the Albanian Government, which says that the refugees are "hooligans, vagabonds, and former prisoners." Nevertheless, Albania is willing to achieve a mutually acceptable solution to the problem as quickly as possible, he said.

Student circles are rather skeptical. No one wants to be beaten up by the brutal Sigurimi people. Simple workers, on the other hand, who constituted the majority in the latest attempts to hold demonstrations, have nothing more to lose, a 21-year-old engineering student says.

EC Demands Albania Grant Exit Visas

AU0507123390 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1209 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Tirana/Bonn—The EC is demanding from the Albanian Government that it grant exit visas for the about 220 people who have taken refuge in foreign embassies in Tirana over the past few days.

According to information from Bonn, the Italian ambassador in Tirana is to hand a corresponding note to the Albanian Foreign Ministry today. In addition, it is demanded that the efforts to look after the refugees in the embassies be ensured. [passage omitted]

This morning hundreds of Albanians have lined up in front of foreign embassies in Tirana to apply for entry visas to Western countries.

EC Appeals for Release of Refugees

AU0507135990 Paris AFP in English 1303 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Brussels, July 5 (AFP)—The European Economic Community (EEC), in an unusually strongly-worded statement Thursday, urged Albania to let 200 refugees sheltering in Western embassies in Tirana leave the country.

"The Community and its member states are deeply concerned by the gravity of the situation in Albania, where

human rights and the fundamental principles of international law are being violated," the communique said. The EEC 12 "strongly urge" the Albanian Government to ensure the safety of the refugees, "to refrain from reprisals against their families ... and to guarantee their free departure from Albanian territory," the communique said. It called on Albania to adopt democratic reforms so that human rights would be fully respected there.

The Community noted that Albania wants to draw closer to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the 35-nation Helsinki forum that includes pan-European agreements on human rights. "The events which are taking place at this moment in Tirana are in complete contradiction to the expressed wishes of the Albanian authorities," the Community said.

The statement was drafted at West Germany's request, a foreign ministry spokesman said in Bonn earlier. The community's message was handed to the Albanian Foreign Ministry in Tirana by the Italian ambassador, whose country is current EEC president.

AFP Reports 20-50 Die in Violence

AU0607073790 Paris AFP in English 2233 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Athens, July 6 (AFP)—Between 20 and 50 people have died in violence sparked by the efforts of Albanians to emigrate in the past six days, and the number of would-be emigrants who have taken refuge in foreign embassies in Tirana has now risen to 1,300, a high-ranking European diplomat said Thursday.

The diplomat, who asked not to be identified, said in a telephone conversation from Tirana that the estimate of the number of deaths, and of the total number of asylum-seekers, emerged from a late-evening meeting between the heads of the 18 missions to which the would-be emigrants have been flocking since Sunday [sentence as received].

Many hundreds of would-be emigrants flocked to Western and other embassies in Tirana Thursday, and the number in the West German mission alone rose from four to around 800 in the space of a few hours, the diplomat said. Among others, there were also 120 in the French, 70 in the Italian, 50 in the Czechoslovak, 50 in the Polish and 20 in the Egyptian embassies.

"There is no doubt that the figures can go on changing very quickly," the diplomat said, adding that talks continued Thursday between the Albanian authorities and diplomats in Tirana, but that the government had not said whether the asylum-seekers would be allowed to leave.

The diplomat also said that diplomats in the Albanian capital estimated that between 20 and 50 people died on Monday night, when the first wave of would-be emigrants headed for foreign missions. Earlier reports said that some people were shot by security forces during a rush into the embassies.

In Tirana a Foreign Ministry spokesman denied late on Thursday that there had been any deaths Monday. He also said that the rules for travel abroad by Albanian citizens "remain in force", the official Albanian news agency received in Belgrade said. According to new rules, Albanian nationals were entitled to passports, the spokesman said, adding that more than 1,400 passports had been issued for the past 10 days, with exit visas for Italy, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Poland, the United States, France, the Soviet Union, Belgium, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Switzerland, Israel, Australia, and other countries.

The spokesman described as "regrettable speculation" foreign press reports that the Albanian authorities had abrogated the rules in response to Thursday's new influx of would-be refugees. He said that foreign missions in Tirana had been asked to issue as of July 2 immigration visas for Albanian nationals wishing to travel. In view of the government stand a prolonged stay of Albanians in the foreign embassies was no longer justified, the spokesman added. Several would-be refugees had already left the embassies "of their own free will to return to their families". The Albanian authorities were considering issuing passports "even to citizens still sheltered in the embassies if they apply for them", he said.

The spokesman regretted "biased" reports by some foreign press agencies, saying it was well known that Albania was committed to a thorough process of political, economic, social and legal democratization.

Tirana was also seeking to establish diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community, the United States, and the Soviet Union and be a party in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The 35-nation CSCE groups all European countries except Albania plus the United States and Canada.

Meanwhile in Udine, northeast Italy, a spokesman for Albanian exiles in the country said they had appealed to Albanian strongman Ramiz Alia to be allowed to return to Albania. Zef Margjinaj [spelling as received], general secretary of the Albanian Human Rights Movement, said at a press conference that the exiles wanted to return home to help foster democracy in Albania and "avoid tragic events such as those that have traumatized Romania".

Situation on SFRY Border Reported 'Normal'

LD0507205790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Bozaj, July 5 (TANJUG)—There are no visible signs that Albanian border guards on the common border with Yugoslavia have received any instructions to change the existing methods of work and checks on their side of the common border due to a tense political situation in Tirana.

The passenger and goods traffic on the Yugoslav-Albanian border at Bozaj in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro is normal.

Groups of Yugoslav tourists travelling to Albania are still having their passports stamped with entry visas at the border crossing. The travel agencies in the Montenegrin capital of Titograd and the Albanian Alb-tours travel agency have since April of this year been organizing four weekly one-day and two-day trips to [word indistinct] (Scutari) and Tirana, respectively, with a prior permit from the competent authorities.

This practice was observed also yesterday when, with the usual examination of documents and without a prolonged wait at the border, 50 Yugoslav tourists and businessmen crossed into Albania and 52 crossed into Yugoslavia from Albania.

There were considerably fewer crossings at Bozaj today, however, as there are no tourist trips scheduled for Thursday.

Official Calls Asylum-Seekers 'Psychopaths'

LD0507184190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Report on interview with Council of Ministers Secretary-General Gjon Gorishti by Laszlo Benda; place and date not given; Gorishti in Albanian with superimposed translation into Hungarian]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The international human rights organization Amnesty International has called on the Albanian authorities to set free immediately the people who were detained when they tried to get into foreign representations. Laszlo Benda gives the most recent information on the situation at the Hungarian Embassy.

[Benda] [passage omitted saying situation quieter today on Tirana's main square] The number of uninvited guests at our embassy in Tirana has increased: Now twelve people are waiting for a way out through diplomacy. But who are they? This is what I asked the secretary-general of the Council of Ministers.

[Begin Gjon Gorishti recording] It is a fact that there are people who do not even ask for passports, but who want to leave in another way. For this reason, they seek asylum in the embassies. These elements are vestiges of the former society. They are hooligans, terrorists, or psychopaths, who were not raised according to our ideology, our ideals. In any event, we shall give passports to those, too, who have fled to the various foreign representations, but we expect the embassies in Tirana to ask them to leave. After that, we shall issue them the documents. Thus, they will obtain in a normal manner what they are trying to force out for themselves with abnormal methods. I should like to emphasize that we are facing only a scattered phenomenon. [end recording] [passage omitted on further background reportage]

Foreign Ministry Statement on Passport Issue

AU0507185290 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has declared to an ATA correspondent that the claims of certain news agencies to the foreign media that there were people killed during the events of 2 July 1990—when a group of turbulent elements sought to enter a foreign embassy in Tirana by force—are utterly fictitious. Talking about the issue of passports and visas, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that based on the new decree concerning this problem, citizens have the right to be supplied with passports to travel abroad.

We notice with regret that there is a lot of noise in the foreign press and speculation that the competent Albanian authorities are allegedly not giving passports to those who wish to travel. This does not correspond in the least with the truth. The mere fact that in the last 10 days more than 1,400 passports have been issued shows the opposite. These passports have been issued for travel in the following countries: Italy, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Poland, the United States, France, the Soviet Union, Belgium, the FRG, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Switzerland, Israel, Australia, and others.

In order to ease the issue of visas, from 2 July 1990, a [word indistinct] has been made to the representatives of different states in Tirana and our citizens, that these latter will obtain their visas directly from the relevant diplomatic representations.

Currently, a large number of passports of Albanian citizens are at some diplomatic missions, waiting for visas to be issued. At a time when, according to the new decree, Albanian citizens are being given passports to travel abroad, it is totally unjustifiable that our citizens should remain in foreign embassies and continue to be dependent on them. No small number of people, who were in some embassies in Tirana, have left of their own accord. Some of them have rejoined their families and are continuing life normally. Some others have asked to be supplied with passports according to the regulations, have obtained them and visas, and have departed. Others are waiting to leave the country. The Albanian authorities are also ready to supply with passports, in accordance with the decree, those citizens who are still in foreign embassies, and who demand them.

Telegrams Sent to Alia Denouncing 'Hooligans'

AU0507203390

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 5 July devotes the first 10 minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to the "deep indignation and legitimate rage" of "communists, working people, veterans, soldiers, and young people throughout the country" at "the ugly acts of certain hooligans in Tirana."

The announcer states: "Many working collectives, workers, and cooperativists have sent telegrams to Comrade Ramiz Alia, strongly denouncing such ugly acts, and at the same time expressing their unshaken readiness to always forge ahead on the correct road on which our glorious party is leading us." "The processes of the democratization of the life of our country have found support among all our working people, they write in their telegrams. This road, as it becomes more vigorous, becomes more inexorable, however much our foreign or domestic enemies may try to block it."

A group of tractor drivers in Diber are reported as writing: "We have heard about the ugly acts of a group of hooligans in Tirana. We are outraged beyond measure and express our hatred for their deeds."

Textile workers in Berat are reported as writing that "We will sharpen our vigilance, and always be in the first ranks to implement the decisions of the recent party Central Committee plenums."

A military unit in Permet is reported as writing that "we express our total agreement with the measures taken by the people of Tirana and our wise public order organs," and expressing their "faith in the party and the people's power." "We have chosen our socialist road ourselves, and will never be diverted from it, because it is the only road which guarantees the freedom and independence of the homeland. We have therefore decided not to allow the slightest concession in the enforcement of our law."

A correspondent's report follows from Tirana, in which an engineering worker is interviewed, stating that "such things have never happened in our country. These are immature people." Another worker states that "these people are nothing but urchins, who are trying to damage our party-people unity."

A further correspondent's report from a coastal village follows, in which villagers voice similar views.

Special Secret Police Unit Used on 2 Jul

AU0607092690 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 6 Jul 90 p 4

[Wilfried Seywald (APA) report from Tirana: "Sigurimi—Gestapo Albanian Style"]

[Text] The Sigurimi is the Albanian secret police, to which gestapo methods are something normal. Dissident circles, which want to remain anonymous, accuse it of torture, physical abuse, and murders. Even the "disappearance" of unpopular people is practiced methodically, and the uninvolved politicians have great difficulty in keeping the Sigurimi people in check.

Ramiz Alia, Enver Hoxha's successor who is considered a man of integrity, inherited only the offices of president and party chairman but not the supreme command of the "bloodhounds of the regime," as they are called by the intimidated people.

This supreme command continues to rest with the "red widow," as the now 65-year-old wife of the "leader of the nation," who died in 1985, is popularly called. With the infamous Interior Minister Simon Stefani and Commander in Chief Veri Koci, Nexhmije Hoxha exercises tyranny, of which even high-ranking politicians and well-known artists are afraid.

This also makes clear the reason for the numerous escape attempts at the borders and into the embassies. Even though the Albanian Government steadfastly claims that every citizen above the age of 16 may receive a passport, in fact only older and privileged persons are applying for travel documents. With these passports they have been able to apply for visas directly at the foreign embassies since Tuesday morning [3 July].

Young people, however, are distrustful of the promises of the official bodies and do not make any attempts from the outset. One month ago—that is, after the announcement of freedom to travel—one student was brutally beaten up when he applied for a passport because he said that he wanted to work abroad.

According to information, which was provided only under strict anonymity, the bomb attack on the Cuban Embassy after 2200 on Tuesday can be explained. Last Friday [29 June] two Albanians were turned away there because the embassy could not or did not want to facilitate their leaving the country. The two men, a 29-year-old worker and a 32-year-old chauffeur, were arrested by the police in front of the embassy building and were taken away.

The chauffeur reportedly killed himself in prison by bashing his head against a wall. The attack on the Cuban mission was an act of revenge for the ambassador's actions, a student says.

On the evening of the demonstrations on 2 July the Sampista was used, a special unit which specializes in karate and judo and which allegedly knows exactly how to "treat" dissidents. "They are doing it for money and food," a 21-year-old engineering student says. According to information, a police chief ordered the security forces at the young people's cinema near the embassies to dispel the several hundred people, who had gathered peacefully, by force. The crowd shouted at him: "Beat us! Shoot your mother, shoot your children!" Vulgar words of abuse and insults were also shouted, as a result of which the "pistemi" (dogs) attacked the demonstrators.

Mladenov's Resignation Called for Over Videoclip

Reformers-Socialists 'Disturbed'

AU0507192490 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Reform-Minded Socialists Wait for President's Personal Decision"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—We expect the president's personal decision, reads a declaration of the Council of the Initiators of Radical Changes in the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The reform-minded members of the ruling party say they are disturbed not so much of the president's words "Its better to let the tanks come", rather than of the fact that the truth had not surface at once. Admitting that BSP has really shown a drive to a peaceful transition to democracy, they insist: It is imperative for Bulgarian democracy for every step to rest on the truth. They regard themselves as standing in front of a serious moral trial and are waiting for the personal decision of the president, a member of their party. They say the matter should be resolved by the opening of the Grand National Assembly on July 10. The declaration reads BSP is losing the political initiative.

BZNS, Mikhaylov Support Resignation

AU0507193890 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 5 Jul 90

["The Agrarians Support the Demand for a Resignation of the President"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) supports the demand of the students on the resignation of President Mladenov.

The BZNS Ruling Council backed today the demand of the striking students which will be given aid by the Agrarians.

This was said by BZNS spokesman Mr Ivan Glushkov at a news conference occasioned by a Ruling Council session here.

Independent MP [Member of Parliament] Stoyan Mikhaylov also launched an appeal to the Grand National Assembly to discuss this "very serious problem." He assessed the students' demand as "justifiable to a great extent", as "everything was about refuting what proved right in the long run." Things had to be clarified immediately after the broadcast of the Union of Democratic Forces Election Studio so that the president might not find himself in the very awkward position he is now in, MP Mikhaylov said.

Zhelev: Resigning 'Only Way Out'

AU0507192290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] A few minutes ago, I received the text of a statement by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], which reads:

Yesterday I allowed myself to comment on the address of Petur Mladenov, chairman, president, of the republic, and drew attention to the fact that the basic demands of the students' strike have begun to be implemented. Thus I wanted to contribute to the rapid and successful end of the students strike, whose demands I have always considered as just, and therefore, have supported them.

When I read more carefully the text of the president's address, I noted the lack of any apology and moral repentance for the heavy accusations Petur Mladenov directed at my colleagues of the SDS Election Studio.

When after a while the experts' investigation categorically confirmed the correctness of the words uttered on 14 December 1989 "Best, let the tanks come," it became clear that the chairman of the republic not only lied, but also allowed himself to try and apply moral pressure over the authors of the cassette.

A head of state can lose his nerves, this is only human, but he cannot allow himself to be dishonest in front of all the people.

Under those circumstances, I think that his situation as head of state becomes precarious and I think that he must submit his resignation to the Grand National Assembly, and inform the public about this step in advance.

Under the circumstances, this is the only way out of the dead-end situation, the statement of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the SDS Coordination Council, reads in conclusion.

Rally Held in Varna

AU0507202490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] At a rally on 5 July in Varna in support of the striking students throughout the country, the demand of the striking students in Varna for the resignation of Chairman, President, Petur Mladenov was voiced. He was described as, I quote: a man who is not worthy of the post he holds.

Mothers and fathers of striking children supported the demand and described it as a lesson in courage, determination, and most of all, freedom of the spirit.

On behalf of the miners from the first shift of the Mangan mine in (Obrotishte) Village, a support for the demand of the Bulgarian students was expressed. They said that this demand washes away the shame accumulated by fear.

A declaration of the Varna Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces was read, in which indignation was expressed with the delay in the sotto voce admission of Chairman, President, Petur Mladenov, leading to unnecessary social tension in the country. The members of parliament from the opposition have been called upon to introduce a proposal in the Grand

National Assembly on immediately relieving Petur Mladenov from the post head of state.

The striking students from Varna's higher Electric-Technical Institute will continue their sit-in. The hunger strike by 10 students from the institute has ended. Two students from the Dimitur Blagoev Higher National Economy Institute, continue their hunger strike.

Students Issue Appeal

AU0607080790 Sofia BTA in English 2039 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—We continue our protest as the people of Bulgaria were brutally lied at, reads an appeal of the striking committees of the students from the occupied higher educational establishments, read over the radio tonight. The students continue the occupational strike of the higher educational establishments and the sit-in in front of the Presidency demanding Pres. Mladenov's resignation. Hunger strikes also continue at some higher institutes of learning. The Veliko Turnovo strikers have placed a 3-metre long cross in the university and students are tied to it for 30 minutes. In their view they thus express their resolve to suffer the truth they are fighting for. This symbolic crucifiction will continue till the president resigns.

Last evening [4 July] several hundred students and lecturers, researchers, writers, actors and citizens started a sit-in in front of the Presidency, initially meant to support the students on strike but after the announcement of the expertise results affecting the president they demanded his resignation.

5,000 signatures were collected today in four hours for the resignation of the president. The Civic Initiative Movement collected 3,000 signatures as a vote of non-confidence to the government and in support of today's student's declaration. Over 3,800 citizens supported the declaration by signatures.

A declaration of the Civic Disobedience Initiative insists on the resignation of Pres. Mladenov and the government and for the announcement of party property.

Four signature lists have been opened in front of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Central Club near the Presidency: in defense of Pres. Mladenov, "against the attempts at destabilizing the situation in the country", "in defense of the democratic process and political institutions of the state", in support of Mr Stefan Prodev, editor-in-chief of DUMA and against the participation of Mr Kevork Kevorkyan, programming director of Bulgarian TV and a popular TV personality, in the leadership of Bulgarian TV.

Social divisions were again prominent at tonight's rally against the pollution of Ruse, sponsored by Ecoglasnost and the Green Party. The rally was being held in front of the National Bank Building, just opposite the Central BSP Club. While the speakers spoke about the role of the public and ecological movements for the agreement between the Bulgarian and Romanian Governments yesterday, part of those attending went to the opposite building shouting "tankmen" and "mafia". The BSP group responded to the challenge and in spite of the verbal assaults which lasted ten minutes or so, there were no incidents. The militia did not interfere. Then the opposition supporters went to the Presidency shouting "step down".

Protests demanding the president resignation took place in Kurdzhali, Pleven, Blagoevgrad and Varna, while alpine climbers and speleologists went on a suspension strike at Sofia University.

TU Calls for Mladenov Resignation

AU0607093390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Text] We have just received a declaration from the Executive Committee of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria. It points out that the Executive Committee is seriously concerned about the situation in the country.

Following the proving of the authenticity of the videoclip—something which had earlier been rejected by President Petur Mladenov—the initial denial, and the consequent actual admission, the Executive Committee calls upon the president to comply with the justified demand of the Bulgarian youth and intelligentsia to resign immediately.

The declaration further stresses that thus Mladenov will not only confirm his positive image as a politician, but he will also facilitate the unity of all strata of the Bulgarian people on the eve of the first session of the Grand National Assembly.

AFP Reports BSP Resignation Call

AU0607111390 Paris AFP in English 1058 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jul (AFP)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party's (BSP, ex-communist) newspaper DUMA called for the resignation of Bulgarian President Petur Mladenov, who is also the leader of the BSP. The development follows a committee of inquiry's confirmation of the authenticity of a videotape which shows Mr. Mladenov saying "send in the tanks," after he failed to appease a crowd of anti-communist demonstrators on December 14.

Mr. Mladenov had described the tape as "a primitive montage" when it was brought to light by the opposition during last month's electoral campaign, but he implicitly acknowledged its authenticity in a television address Wednesday [4 July] following the inquiry committee's verdict.

"Society is disappointed by the weakness of the president. He did not have the strength to admit his statement of December 14. Another gaffe followed the first one. Democracy cannot tolerate that," said the newspaper. "Tension is rising. Politics is a game for men. The less skillful player should leave the scene."

Mr. Mladenov's resignation is also being demanded by the country's primary opposition group, the Union of Democratic Forces, by the Agrarian Party, by students who have been striking for 25 days, and by reformers within the BSP.

BSP Supreme Council Issues Strike Declaration

AU0607090190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Jul 90 pp 1,2

[Declaration issued by the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council; place and date not given: "Socialists Are For Cooperation With All Political Forces"]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has discussed the development of the political situation in the country after the elections and considers it necessary to draw the attention of the people and the public to certain tendencies which are dangerous for the democratic process.

Attempts to create social tension on the eve of the first session of the newly elected Grand National Assembly have intensified in recent weeks. The results of the elections have been essentially questioned. These elections have been acknowledged as free and democratic by the competent state organs created by the consensus reached at the roundtable, by the people, and by thousands of foreign observers. In contradiction to the principles of democracy, unjustified demands are being made to resolve outside the Grand National Assembly issues that are exclusively within the competence of our parliament. The pressure is intensifying. It is motivated by party passions directed against national institutions such as the radio and television.

The events aimed at compromising the elections are intended to build up confrontation between social groups by creating an atmosphere of social confrontation and violating public order. The goal is to destabilize the state structures and in the final analysis—to revoke the results of the elections.

The proclaiming of such an attitude as the only democratic one and appealing for a "velvet revolution" against the will of the people, freely and clearly expressed in the 10 and 17 June elections, gives rise to puzzlement and alarm.

In connection with the issues that the students' strike in recent weeks has placed in the center of public attention, the BSP Supreme Council declares:

1. In accordance with Article 78 of the Grand National Assembly Election Law, "all complaints related to illegal actions during the elections on the part of officials, parties, and citizens, must be directed to the Grand National Assembly within two weeks of the publication of the election results." The BSP Election Center has submitted a list of violations to the Central Election Committee as noted by its representatives. At the same time, the BSP Supreme Council accepts the conclusion of the Central Election Commission that the information it has cannot cast a shadow of doubt over the legal character of the Grand National Assembly.

2. Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Committee on Television, has officially declared his resignation and submitted it in writing to the Grand National Assembly. The Parliamentary-Public Commission on the Radio and Television of the newly elected Grand National Assembly is the only competent organ to review this resignation.

The BSP Supreme Council expects that the issue will be discussed by the Grand National Assembly, and considers it necessary that the discussion encompass the whole activity of the television leadership with a view to ensuring its supraparty character and objectivity.

3. The attempts to destabilize the situation are also expressed in a direct political attack against the head of state of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The goal is to weaken the institution of the Presidency as a supraparty guarantee of our national interests, and peace, and security in the country, and thus to create a political crisis in the administration of the country.

The BSP Supreme Council points out that true facts and the actual political course followed by the president are the most important factor in politics. The president's actions in developing the social processes in the country during the past seven months in which he has been heading the state are the best proof, one way or the other, of the president's political visions.

The facts are obvious to all both within and outside Bulgaria's borders.

Petur Mladenov's contribution to removing the authoritarian regime on 10 November 1989 was a great one.

The president's policy aimed at a peaceful transition to democracy is well known and recognized. Precisely because of this policy the national roundtable recommended by consensus that he be elected as the first president of our state.

There does not exist a single fact related to the use of force to protect public order during the period since 10 November 1989. It is clear that if the president, in his capacity as a commander in chief of the Armed Forces, had issued an order for military intervention, this order would have been implemented, and then we would not have been able to speak about a peaceful transition to democracy.

Nobody can deny the positive influence of the presidential initiatives for dialogue between the political forces, creating guarantees for nonviolence in our political life and the holding of free and democratic elections that were widely monitored internationally.

Consequently, the issue is whether tanks or other military force was used in Sofia or anywhere else in the country after 14 December 1989.

This is the essence of the issue of the attitude of the present Bulgarian president to democracy and the way it is to develop in Bulgaria. Therefore the BSP Supreme Council stresses the credit President Petur Mladenov has earned for the peaceful transition to democracy in our country and appeals to all political forces and Bulgarian citizens to protect the institution of the presidency as a guarantee of our national and state interests.

As far as the specific sentence and the context in which it was said are concerned, this was clarified in the president's address of 4 July.

Now there is nothing more important than to create normal conditions for the work of the Grand National Assembly. The BSP calls upon the political and social forces to show great respect for the will of the people expressed in the elections, make maximum efforts to put an end to the confrontation, and concentrate on common and positive work for strengthening the political and economic reforms that Bulgaria needs. Only in this way can Bulgaria overcome the crisis and conditions be created for the successful future development of the country..

The BSP will do everything in its power to continue and successfully conclude Bulgaria's peaceful transition to democracy. It is ready for honest cooperation with all political and social forces that aim at democracy and the prosperity of the country.

Student Strikes Continue; Deemed 'Success'

Vow To 'Carry On' Until Mladenov Resigns

AU0507144890 Sofia BTA in English 1108 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Students Want President To Step Down"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—"We can declare now that the strike has been a success," the Strike Committees of the students siting-in at the higher educational establishments said in a declaration released today. [passage omitted]

"I think that the students and the lecturers should carry on their strike in a new form until the president resigns because he does not have the morality of a first citizen of this society," Prof. Dr Georgi Shishkov, head of the University Teachers Strike Committee, told a BTA reporter.

Students and lecturers continue their sit-down strike in front of the Presidency Building. The Civil Disobedience Initiative said in a declaration that it will join the sit-down strike. Signatures are collected in favor of the president's resignation.

In Sofia and elsewhere in the country the Students Movement for Democracy, which emerged on June 12 and declared itself against the sit-ins, has started collecting signatures for an end to the strike and against the students' political demands.

Talks With Presidency Break Off

AU0507124190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] (BTA report)—The breaking off of the talks between the striking students and the Presidency is a unilateral step, which became known just after the news conference in lecture room 272 of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia, states an announcement by Presidency officials.

The announcement states: The contact group, which included representatives of the Presidency, the Fatherland Union, and the strike committee, started work on 27 June. The talks went well, and a number of clauses in the draft text of the agreement were finalized. On 29 June a new meeting was held, in which Ivaylo Trifonov, member of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], took part. A decision was made to hold further consultations with legal specialists, as demanded by the student strike committee, and a time was fixed for the next and, as everyone hoped, final meeting on 30 June.

Unfortunately, the representatives of the striking students failed to show up on 30 June. On 1 July the Presidency tried to contact the persons authorized by the students to negotiate for them, but these efforts proved fruitless. On the morning of 2 July Mr. Petrov, the spokesman of the strike committee, asked the presidency to assist in arranging a direct radio transmission of the news conference, within the framework of the consultations and negotiations on an agreement.

The refusal to continue the talks, given that one of the main demands of the student strike committee, namely an expert examination of the video material broadcast on 14 June, has been granted, is a step which is perplexing, to say the least.

Sit-in Continues at Presidency

AU0507103690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Nina Spasova report—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Our reporter Nina Spasova has just entered the studio. You were in the square in front of the Presidency, what is happening there?

[Spasova] Yes, the sit-in is continuing there. Representatives of the strikers at all the higher education establishments in Sofia are present, I mean representatives of both the students and the teaching staff. Near them, some writers have also started a sit-in. A large number of citizens have gathered, I would say about 200 or 300, and they are chanting "Resign, Resign!," that is, calling for the president's resignation.

The students showed me a new declaration of today's date issued by the striking higher education establishments' strike committees. The declaration calls for President Petur Mladenov's resignation. Signatures are being collected for this declaration, and I was told that copies of the strike committee's new declaration are being duplicated at Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University. We expect to receive the full text at any moment, and will inform you of the contents.

'Text' of Resignation Demand

AU0507105690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1015 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Text" of declaration issued by the Students Strike Committee; place and date not given]

[Text] On the 20th day since we started our strike, it has been crowned with success. The violations in connection with the elections have been announced in a comparatively full fashion. Mr. Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Television Committee, has handed in his resignation. The expert commission has declared the video material of 14 December 1989 to be authentic.

For this reason, today, 5 July, we can declare the strike a success. This is a victory of public conscience, and civic dignity over totalitarianism, apathy, and indifference. This is the first victory for truth in Bulgaria.

At the same time, the incomplete coverage given to the election violations and, most of all, the immoral position adopted by Mr. Petur Mladenov, Chairman-President of the Republic, which he demonstrated in the videoclip broadcast by Bulgarian Television on 14 June and 4 July and in his statement—open quotes—It is better for the tanks to come—close quotes, have led us to the decide that our demands have not been completely satisfied.

We consider it our moral duty to demand his resignation from the post of president, because he has proved to be unworthy of it. Mr. Mladenov must apologize to the Bulgarian people and leave the political stage. Until this occurs, we will continue our protest actions, including those in front of the Presidency building.

We call upon the students and citizens of Sofia and the country to support the sit-in strike in front of the Presidency.

We confirm our demands for the resignation of Mr. Petur Mladenov contained in our declaration of 4 July 1990, and appeal to the public to support us with all forms of peaceful protest, as mentioned in the previous declaration.

Regarding the other demands in the previous declaration, we consider that these lie within the competence of the Grand National Assembly.

As well as this, we insist that the future government should not include discredited persons who are responsible for the country's present critical state.

We insist that the Mandate Commission of the Grand National Assembly should issue pronouncements regarding the legitimacy of the election of each individual people's deputy within the shortest possible time.

We insist on being granted the opportunity, in a direct transmission on Bulgarian Television and Bulgarian Radio today, 5 July 1990, to set out our viewpoints concerning the present time of general political tension and the role played by the student strike.

Student Speaks Against Strikes

AU0507151090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1145 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Studio discussion between unidentified announcer; Asen Asenov, representative of the Sofia University student strike committee; and Nikolay Leontiev, spokesman of the Students for Democracy Movement—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Asenov] Finally, I would like to address those who accuse us of having selected an extreme means of protest, namely a sit-in strike. I wish to ask these people: If we had chosen a token strike, what would have happened then? Would certain people have paid any attention at all, especially seeing that we were compelled to fight for such a long time.

[Announcer] It seems to me that these matters were covered sufficiently clearly and precisely in the declaration that we read and also reported in the news. You have heard the opinion of Asen Asenov. Now we will hear what Nikolay Leontiev, spokesman to the Students for Democracy Movement, has to say about the telephone calls he has received.

[Leontiev] Many people have asked me over the telephone why the declaration that has just been read makes no mention of the claims which were declared last night and which were read during our dialogue today, and asked whether these are being withdrawn.

On the other hand, the citizens expressed their satisfaction that the strike has achieved its aims. However, they think that from now on the participants should cease their actions, because they are increasing the political temperature of the tension. The callers are of the opinion that the continuation of the strike is already an action of political irresponsibility; they want peace, calm, and peaceful labor, not alarm and anxiety. They consider democracy is achieved by honest means, as Simeonova from Sofia told me in her call.

On the other hand, many calls are connected with the attitude toward Petur Mladenov, president of the republic. These callers consider that the president is the president not only of the students, but of all the Bulgarian people, and if they use expressions like, On the barricades, they should bear in mind the view of the entire Bulgarian people, irrespective of which side of the barricades they are on.

In the opinion of the citizens, it is wrong to demand Mladenov's resignation, because he never allowed any rattling of sabers. A person is guilty whose guilt is proven, and this guilt never existed.

People who previously supported the strike now agree on the need to call it off, especially many young professors at Sofia University. Many young people have signed the petition against the strike. [passage omitted]

Appeal for Support Issued

AU0507184290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Statement read by Vasil Petrov, spokesman for the Sofia University Students Committee; place not given—live]

[Text] The closed session of the students' strike committees continues in Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University. However, Vasil Petrov, spokesman for the Sofia University Students' Committee, will read an address by the representatives of the students' strike committees throughout the country to the Bulgarian people:

[Petrov] Mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, compatriots. We, the striking students from the higher education establishments throughout the country, who for 25 days have been insisting on our demands that have fateful importance not only for us, but for the nation, are addressing you. Our demands defend the dignity of all Bulgarian people and their democratic traditions and freedom-loving spirit, which have been oppressed for decades, replaced by lies, and killed by demagogy. We defend those precious merits, thus denying ourselves the pleasures that by right belong to youth; sacrificing the June examination session; and giving up a free summer, intended to be used for rest and more pleasant activities. We exchanged all this for stuffy university halls, sleepless nights, hunger, and the bitterness, caused by the fact that some of you do not understand the great meaning of our struggle, while others crudely denounce us. We warmly beseech you—do not reproach us, understand us. Please, believe and support us.

You, our fathers, mothers, grandmothers, and grandfathers, who have always done everything for us, thus depriving yourselves of many things, do not betray us now, when our happiness, self-esteem, and freedom depend on you. We cannot tolerate the dishonest manner in which the elections were conducted. We cannot tolerate the fact that the television, the most powerful means of information and influence, continues to manipulate our people and disseminate lies. We cannot tolerate the shameful and undignified behavior of the chairman, president, of our country.

Compatriots, we already are very tired. Some of us have reached their limit due to prolonged hunger. The July heat also has taken its toll. Nevertheless, we continue our protest, because the entire nation was brutally lied to. We wanted to know the truth and only the truth about what was shown in the telecast of the Union of Democratic Forces Election Studio, seen and heard by Bulgaria and the entire world. Even that same day, our president refuted what was seen by all.

Mr. Mladenov threatened that he will seek legal responsibility from the authors of this montage and insinuation, as he put it.

Dear compatriots, do you understand what happened to us? Many of you believed the president and your hearts were filled with hatred against those who try to disgrace the president. Others believed the facts they saw with their own eyes and heard with their own ears. Then their hearts were filled with a different hatred—hatred of our fate, unworthily lied to and humiliated during a period that is supposed to open the gates of democracy for us. There was no truth, and this was something horrible. Therefore, our dear compatriots, we decided to close ourselves in our fortress. We were forced to occupy the universities and suffer the humiliations to which we were subjected. We even had to suffer the indignation of many of you.

It was only through this measure, described by some people as radical, that we succeeded after 24 long days and nights to force the leaders to speak the truth.

The truth turned out to be horrible. Our chairman lied to us and subjected us to prolonged and heavy suffering because of his presidential word in the declaration, which was believed by thousands of citizens. We were subjected to the indignation and curses of a part of our people. Therefore, we continue our struggle until Chairman, President, Petur Mladenov resigns. We continue our sit-in and our hunger strike so that out dear motherland and people make their real first and great step toward their dignity.

Mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, compatriots, support us and help us. Give us your hands! We grew up with your love and confidence. Now we need them more than ever before.

Summary of Nationwide Situation

AU0507205790

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 5 July carries a 10-minute report on students and faculty strikes throughout the country. The following recent strike-related developments have been reported:

The rector of Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University and all deans and other university officials have announced that "as long as they hold official university posts, they will not be members of any political party and will refrain from political activity."

The leadership of the Philosophy Department of Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University has submitted its collective resignation "as a protest against the results of the experts' investigation of Mladenov's videoclip and the

preceding situation which in unworthy of the Presidency." A declaration denouncing Mladenov's actions "which contributed to the growth of social tension in Bulgaria," has been issued. The faculty of the Philosophy Department "think that Petur Mladenov should resign immediately."

Students, members of the Mountaineers Club have issued a declaration demanding the immediate resignation of Mladenov, in which they announce the beginning of a hunger strike, during which they will climb the walls of the Rector's office of Sofia University.

The students of the Philology Department of Sofia University have issued a declaration in which they demand turning the strike into a nationwide campaign.

The Civic Disobedience Initiative in Sofia announced sit-in in front of the Presidency, and called for a rally on Saturday (7 July) at 1900 (1600 GMT) in front of the Presidency in support of the students' demands.

The academic leadership of Plovdiv's Higher Agrarian Institute asserts that the strike disrupts normal academic work. The students have been called upon "to show prudence and allow the examinations to go on."

The striking students of Veliko Turnovo's St. Kiril and Metodiy University mounted a large wooden cross in front of the Rector's Office, and tied themselves to it. It was declared that the action will continue "until the president resigns."

The students of Ruse's Angel Kunchev Higher Technical Institute continue their strike. The students also demand the complete cessation of the construction of the Belene nuclear plant.

The students of Blagoevgrad's Higher Pedagogy Institute continue their strike. They demand the resignation of President Petur Mladenov.

Citizens in Pleven have organized a rally in front of the Municipal People's Council. They described Mladenov' address as "vague and dishonest." The rally has been coordinated with the students of the Higher Medical Institute in the city.

Lukanov, Officials Discuss Strike

AU0607082390 Sofia BTA in English 2119 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—On an initiative of Premier Lukanov a meeting was held with the participation of the main political forces: the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS). It was also attended by ministers and rectors of higher educational establishments and by the student's striking committee.

Earlier in the day Mr Lukanov met representatives of the striking committees, the political forces and the interior minister. After a lengthy talk the representatives of the striking students walked out to take a decision on the occupational strikes. It was noted that the striking students may consider their initial demands fulfilled.

In the morning and in the evening the government stressed all demands and problems posed by the student's movements and civic initiatives to be debated and settled by the lawfully elected Grand National Assembly. The representatives of the striking committees mentioned their new declaration of today which does not include an end to the occupational strikes.

Election Breaches Reported

AU0507124090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Dimitrana Aleksandrova report]

[Excerpt] The four-hour news conference of the striking students and the Association for Fair Elections which was held yesterday [2 July] in lecture room 272 of Sofia University began with Prof. Dr. Ivan Slavov announcing the start of our "soft revolution" and declaring that we must find our own Havel.

The news conference turned into a rally, which was relayed live by Bulgarian Radio and returned the country to the high emotions of the election campaign.

Kevork Kevorkyan, who throughout the news conference was largely responsible for deciding the kind of questions which would be asked and who would ask them, stated at the beginning that he was not appealing for compromises, but for joint efforts to impose the force of reason.

Immediately afterwards, student Vasil Petrov read a declaration on behalf of the strike committees, in which he announced that 22 days after it had begun, the strike had grown from a regional into a national event. He emphasized that the strike was not directed by any political force, and accused Bulgarian Television of tendentiously reporting it so far.

Viktor Kostov delivered a "summary briefing" on the violations and complaints connected with the elections made by both the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. At this point the news conference was cut off, in order to start again from the beginning. It turned out that the direct radio live relay had not yet been connected, and therefore the declaration and part of the "summary briefing" were repeated.

During his repeat statement Vasil Kostov reconsidered his words, and stressed that he was only reporting tip-offs and warnings, which had not been investigated. Two charts with schematic diagrams of violations committed before and during the elections were pinned to the blackboard in the auditorium.

According to Dimitur Popov, the Central Electoral Commission had also received many tip-offs concerning violations from citizens and various political forces.

However, the issue was how far these violations may affect the overall assessment of the elections. The commission had examined 1,138 written statements and submitted them to the Grand National Assembly. Not a single case had been found of a protocol which had not been compiled according to the method approved by the Central Electoral Commission. The Central Electoral Commission had supplied computer diskettes with the complete election results to the BSP, SDS, and the Grand National Assembly. [passage omitted]

Professors Condemn 'Violence' at Women's Rally

AU0507121390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Jul 90 p 2

[Text] We strongly protest against the moral and physical violence directed against the participants in the 29 July meeting organized by the "Women and Mothers Against Violence" movement, the Democratic Women's Movement, and the Student Movement for Democracy, states a telegram received by the editors from 300 lecturers at the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia. These lecturers do not support the sit-in at the university and insist that the illegally occupied workplaces be vacated immediately.

Committee Calls for Calm

AU0507124290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jul (BTA)—The Independent Public Council for the Prevention of Violence in Political and Public Life, after discussing the situation in the country, considers that the following, more than anything else, present a potential threat to civil peace:

—The unabating political confrontation and intolerance toward political opponents which arose during the election campaign and have been exacerbated by the election results.

—The increase in nationalistic attitudes with an ethnic and religious basis.

The council appeals to the leaderships of all parties and public and other organizations to be aware of their immense responsibility to the Bulgarian people.

The Independent Public Council condemns the rude and provocative behavior of a group of citizens wearing badges of the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation, who by their actions obstructed a peaceful meeting organized by the "Women and Mothers Against Violence" movement on 29 June 1990 in front of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia.

The public council considers that the excessive and strong comments on the authenticity of the remark made by Mr. Petur Mladenov on 14 December 1989 do not exert a favorable influence upon civil peace in the country.

Stoyan Mikhaylov on Loss of Socialist Values

AU0507200290 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Bulgarian Socialists Distance Themselves From Marxism and Socialism, Former BCP CC Secretary Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov, former secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, an independent MP at the Grand National Assembly, accused the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) of "a distancing from Marxism and socialism."

He said he did not renew his BSP membership after the adoption of the party's new name and accused the current leadership of rejecting Leninism and "silently" abandoning Marxism. However, Mr Mikhaylov has no intention of founding a new party and has nothing to do with the Bulgarian Communist Party, set up several days ago.

According to sociologist Stoyan Mikhaylov "BSP is seeking to become part and parcel of a modernized capitalist society in this country, not setting itself the task of walking out of this society." There are no great differences between the economic platforms of the socialists and the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), Mr Mikhaylov holds.

He characterized as a paradox, rejecting the socialist system the democratic socialism thesis as a movement towards certain values. It is paradoxical to claim you are pursuing a goal you declare non-existent, he said.

As to the BSP dream of becoming part of Europe's leftwing and be admitted to the Socialist International, Mr Mikhaylov thinks the place has already been occupied by the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party of Mr Dertliev.

Mr Mikhaylov characterized as "false and preposterous" the allegations of his involvement in the campaign for the forceful re-naming of Bulgarian Muslims, pronounced against him through the opposition press by defendant Milko Balev, Todor Zhivkov's former right hand.

At a news conference here Mr Mikhaylov and the other independent MP Mr Rosen Karadimov said they would back a broad coalition government and vote in Parliament for proposals protecting national interests irrespective of their initiator.

BZNS Assesses Election Results, Seeks Unity

AU0507190190 Sofia BTA in English 1815 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—Today the Ruling Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) announced the Agrarians' intention to seek to form a united parliamentarian group with the Nikola Petkov BZNS.

The Ruling Council made a decision to entrust the BZNS Standing Committee with the mission of speeding up the constructive steps for the unification of the two agrarian parties.

The Ruling Council assessed the election results of the BZNS as unsatisfactory, pointing out at the same time that the reason for it was the present organizational and political situation of the party. The Ruling Council made a positive assessment of the declaration by which the BZNS Standing Committee called upon the Agrarians to give their support to the Union of Democratic Forces in the election run-off.

In this connection the leaders of the BZNS, Mr. Ivan Glushkov and Mr. Kosta Yanchev, stated at a news conference that despite "the lack of understanding" in some places with regard to the declaration, it was a "turning point" in the attitude to the Agrarian Party. It was only after this declaration that the public got convinced the BZNS is a real opposition force, Mr. Glushkov said. According to him in the election run-off about 20-30 percent of the Agrarians voted for the Bulgarian Socialist Party, but in Varna, Plovdiv, Ruse and some other towns the candidates of the Union of Democratic Forces were elected thanks to the support they were given by the Agrarians. He noted that had the elections been held on the basis of the proportional representation system, the Agrarians would have won 32 instead of only 16 seats in Parliament.

At the news conference the BZNS confirmed its position that it would back up only a broad-based coalition government formed by the major political forces, the Union of Democratic Forces included.

Replying a question of a BTA reporter, Mr. Ivan Glushkov said that the registering of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms as a political party was a mistake and that the BZNS had no intention to cooperate with it.

The polarization of the two big parties, the inertness of the local leaders of the BZNS, the attacks and manipulations against the Agrarians are some of the most important causes for their unsatisfactory presentation at the elections, it was pointed out at the news conference.

In the first round of the elections we paid off a 43-year mortgage of political servility, Mr. Ivan Glushkov said.

Koshev Elected Leader of Liberal Democrats

AU0307134690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Jun 90 p 2

[Text] The name of the new chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party is Veselin Koshev. He was elected to the interim leadership, which will remain in office until the first congress, scheduled to be held in December of this year.

The above is stated in an announcement issued by the Liberal Democratic Party concerning an extraordinary meeting held by the party's central leadership, which accepted the application for resignation submitted by the previous chairman Zdravko Daskalov.

'Workers and Peasants Party' Established

AU0507181390 Sofia BTA in English 1546 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Varna, 5 Jul (BTA)—The Bulgarian Worker's and Peasant's Party was founded here. It will work for "the cleansing of society of the illegally acquired big personal properties, for a modern legal normative basis, for the quick overcoming of the country's crisis."

The program and the requirements of the new party are "entirely different from the platforms of the Union of Democratic Forces and the Bulgarian Socialist Party." The Bulgarian Worker's and Peasant's Party belongs to the center of political forces between the Union of Democratic Forces and the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Holy Synod Condemns 2-Month Sit-in Protest

AU0507205490 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 5 Jul 90

["The Holy Synod Criticizes the Totalitarian Regime, Repents of 'Some Mistakes' and Excommunicates Protesting Clergyman"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul (BTA)—"With benignancy" Bulgaria's Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church informs of the Church and civic public that "tonight's rally in front of the Synod is a blatant violation of the canons of Oecumenical Orthodoxity, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church Statute, good Church order and decency".

According to the Holy Synod the rally in St. Aleksandur Nevski Square is aimed against the supreme Church authorities, the Church hierarchy and the Episcopate, while its mastermind, Father Krustuy Malinov has been punished "rightfully and justifiably by the Vratsa Eparchial and Church Court for violations of canonic, moral, administrative and other nature".

The father is continuing his sit-in in front of the Synod for two months now, protesting what he says his unjustifiable sacking by Bishop Kalinik, the spiritual head of the Vratsa Eparchy in northern Bulgaria.

An appeal of the Committee for the Protection of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values, adopted this evening by the rally insists on the removal of Bishop Kalinik as a man "enforced by Todor Zhivkov's totalitarian system". He is accused of violations and misappropriation of funds.

The Holy Synod pardoned the cleric in question last June with the right to be appointed at a parish Church of the Plovdiv Eparchiate. He is now excommunicated as he "failed to repent and express his gratitude to the benevolence" and due to the calling of the rally at which "there were rude assaults and acts against the Bulgarian Orthodox Church" and its supreme hierarchy.

The Holy Synod declaration criticizes the restriction of church activities by the totalitarian regime. "In spite of the difficulties during this period, our holy clergy continued its functions with great difficulties, in spite of external confrontation. For some mistakes, the high clergy and the Orthodox service repent," the document reads.

Havel Speech Following Election as President

LD0507144390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1303 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle following his election as president—live]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens! A short while ago, in a secret ballot and thus truly freely, I was elected by the Federal Assembly—which was also born from free elections—president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. [applause] The two-year term in office for which I have been elected will approximately coincide with the challenging time of rebuilding our state, and the time which will culminate with the adoption of our new constitutions. I promise you that—within my powers, abilities, and possibilities—I shall do everything in order that we can pass through this challenging time successfully, and in order that a happier future will open up to our country. [applause and chanting]

Havel Pleased With Percentage of Vote

LD0507170390 Prague CTK in English 1256 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 5 (CTK)—Newly elected Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told CTK today the fact that 50 Federal Assembly deputies did not vote for him is an eloquent and convincing proof of the democratic nature of the election.

As many as 234 deputies out of the total of the 284 deputies present voted for Vaclav Havel. The Federal Assembly has a total of 300 deputies. 16 deputies were absent.

Vaclav Havel said that those who did not give him their votes might have various reasons, perhaps broader than dislike of his personality, e.g. disagreement with the policy followed by the country over the past six months.

"I would not feel well if I were elected by 100 per cent of votes as my predecessor (Gustav Husak) was," he stressed.

Gorbachev Message to Havel on Election Cited

LD0507171190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev congratulated Vaclav Havel on his election as Czechoslovak president in his telegram today. At the same time he expressed hope that the joint effort at further developing good-neighborly and mutually advantageous cooperation in the spirit of the declaration on the relations between the USSR and CSFR will benefit both countries, will strengthen friendship, and will significantly contribute to peace and cooperation on the European continent.

Domestic Reaction to Havel Election

LD0507170490 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Chairman Ladislav Adamec told CTK after Vaclav Havel's election as Czechoslovak president that he regards the election as correct, adding that his party fully supported his election.

Slovak National Party Deputy Olga Pavukova said she had counted with Havel's election. She provided the candidature for her party of Actor Stefan Kvietik (announced in the Federal Assembly on July 3) in an attempt to make the election more exciting. (Stefan Kvietik turned down the proposal).

Former Czechoslovak interior minister, member of the Czechoslovak People's Party presidium Richard Sacher said that the country now needs at the political top a man whose policy is integration, not centralization.

Defense Minister Vacek on Changes Within Army

LD0507195190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Interview with Defense Minister General Miroslav Vacek by unidentified correspondent in Vacek's study; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] This is the first time we can acquaint you with the defense minister's study, which has so far been kept secret. Army-General Miroslav Vacek, born in Kolin in 1935, however, is well known to you. He has carried out a large number of significant changes since last December. Despite that, he is being criticized for having changed virtually nothing inside the Army.

[Vacek] This is very surprising, because I thought that it was precisely inside the Army that I carried out most of the changes. But you are right that there is criticism of the Army. I consider this normal. I do not reject criticism and, naturally, on the other hand, not all that these critics say is necessarily true. It is for this reason that I will assess the latest invectives against the processes that have been carried out in the Army. I have sufficient evidence to prove that the changes inside the Army are beginning to take place. I do not want to claim that there were no problems in carrying out these processes, or indeed that they have been carried out or are being carried out.

[Correspondent] There are various reports originating in the Army itself saying that you are not always truthfully informed by your colleagues. What are you going to do about it?

[Vacek] I should like to defend myself in this respect by saying that I have held fairly significant posts long enough and that a certain filter cannot be excluded. Therefore I trust my colleagues, I also trust the commanders, but according to all the valid principles for

management work, I often go out to find out myself. I am not satisfied with everything, but I think that the essence of what I have been told corresponds to reality.

[Correspondent] What is the aim of your department on the international level?

[Vacek] These tasks stem, above all, from the latest session of the Political Consultative Committee which was also attended by President Havel. The statement, adopted by the member states of the Warsaw Pact at the session in Moscow, stipulated the following tasks: to retain membership in the Warsaw Treaty, to have influence on all the processes which are taking place there with the aim to set up, as soon as possible, other all-European security structures which would stand above the existing security pacts.

Military Budget Disclosed at Vienna Talks

AU0407140590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Jun 90 p 7

[CTK report: "First in the Warsaw Pact; Data on Czechoslovak Military Spending Made Public"]

[Text] Vienna—Yesterday's plenary session at the Vienna talks of the 35 CSCE signatory countries on confidence and security- building measures in Europe was addressed by Colonel Josef Fucik, Czechoslovak expert on military budget issues. In his speech he endorsed and sought to push through the proposal for an exchange of information on military budgets and expenditures, which had been submitted at this forum by the delegations of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and Poland in early June.

The exchange of data on next year's military expenditures of every state in accordance with the UN methodology, supplemented with expenditures on military exercises and arms systems development programs, is a qualitatively new and important measure on the road toward greater transparency in the military sphere.

As Josef Fucik told the Vienna correspondent of CTK, this is the first time since 1948 that Czechoslovakia has made public data on its military expenditures and budget at an international forum. He added that the complete information on Czechoslovak military spending comprises not only volumes, but that it also details the internal structure of this spending. The CSFR is the first Warsaw Pact member country to have made public information of this kind at the Vienna talks.

Formerly Purged Officers Take Army Posts

AU0307150590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 Jun 90 p 5

[Unattributed report]

[Text] A total of 444 officers who were forced to abandon their profession in the last 20 years for political reasons have returned to the most varied posts in the Czechoslovak Army thus far. Another 426 applications for readmission are being considered.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Proceeds on Schedule

LD0407174990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory is continuing in line with the agreed upon timetables. As of today, more than 29,000 troops and more than 13,500 of their family members have left our republic. In order to fulfill the tasks of the second stage of the withdrawal, which is to be completed by the end of this year, rail transport capacity has been increased by creating a new route through Poland. This has enabled two to three trainloads per day to be dispatched from our territory in July.

Dubcek, Soviet Envoy View Cooperation

LD0207190690 Prague CTK in English 1635 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek received here Monday Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Boris Pankin, who handed over to him a letter from President of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union Anatoliy Lukyanov in which he congratulates Alexander Dubcek on his re-election parliamentary chairman.

The Soviet representative underlined useful cooperation between the two countries and expressed hope that its further promotion will help strengthen good-neighbourly relations and deepen the all- European process.

Alexander Dubcek and the Soviet diplomat stressed the necessity of looking for new ways of contacts corresponding with the current development.

Ministers' Wages Approved; Press Section Abolished

AU0507074190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Jun 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Federal Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic: Preparation of Program Statement Continues"]

[Text] Prague—The newly established federal government continued to prepare its program statement at its meeting yesterday. It will return to this document once again, at Monday's [2 July] extraordinary government session. The government also decided on the salaries of its new members. It approved a basic salary of 16,000 korunas a month for deputy premiers P. Rychetsky and J. Miklosko, plus a tax-exempt monthly lump sum of 6,000 korunas to cover expenses connected with the execution of their constitutional duties. Ministers J. Langos, J. Nezval, T. Petrik, P. Hoffmann, and J. Vavrousek will receive a monthly salary of 12,000 korunas plus a [tax-exempt] lump sum of 5,000 korunas.

On the decision of the Government, the present Press Section of the Office of the Government Presidium will be abolished from 1 July and replaced by the Section for State Information Policy [odbor statnej informacnej politiky]. One of the section's important tasks will be to safeguard the activity of the interministerial commission for the allocation of radio and television frequencies and programs.

Calfa's, Dubcek's Qualifications Questioned

AU0307154590 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 28 Jun 90 p 2

[Commentaries by Petr Sabata and Ondrej Neff: "Balance..."]

[Text] Democratic society is not just an ideal for which it is worth being imprisoned or, at least, demonstrating in Wenceslas Square. We are realizing more and more that it also is a tremendously sensitive organism in which balance occupies the key position. While in the countries that have experienced democracies of longer duration this balance is achieved in the form of a strong government and a strong opposition mutually scrutinized, the structure of our political spectrum is absolutely imbalanced. A powerful triangle Castle—government—parliament (the order could be reversed) could in this case provide a certain guarantee of control over power. While the Castle has so far manifested itself as a strong political subject, the Czechosiovak Federal Assembly or the government could not always be referred to in these terms. Yesterday, two points of the power triangle were filled again. Can Marian Calfa and Alexander Dubcek be as strong personalities as the one occupying the Castle? That is the topic for contemplation by Petr Sabata and Ondrej Neff.

The King Is Naked

The new parliament is facing an immensely difficult task. Harmonized in the Constitution should be all major national, ethnic, and regional interests. Yesterday all the significant posts in the Federal Assembly were filled. Alexander Dubcek was again elected its chairman. Does the parliamentary leadership provide guarantees that the task will be completed?

Alexander Dubcek was a candidate of the Public Against Violence movement supported by the Civic Forum. He received over 90 percent of preferential votes in the parliamentary elections. This was the second highest number among the Slovak candidates, second only to Marian Calfa. The popularity of Alexander Dubcek, as the protagonist of the Prague Spring, is thus great. Also, his international appeal is beyond doubt—during his recent visit to Spain, he was recognized by people on the street— and is also based on the diversely interpreted significance of the revival process in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Dubcek is a symbol. As such, he also played a beneficial role in the November revolution. As soon, however, as 1968 is subjected to a critical evaluation—as was done already a long time ago by Pithart, Tigrid, or Havel, and as will be done, we hope, in the future—the illusions about the qualities of the then politicians necessarily collapse.

The election of Dubcek to the past parliament was understood not as an accession or return of a strong personality capable of directing the work of the Federal Assembly in a decisive moment or averting an eventual crisis, but as a reward for his merits which were not closely scrutinized. Hence, he was not missed by anybody when in the evening of 27 February, after a dramatic debate, the parliament approved the historically significant Law on Elections to the Federal Assembly, and Alexander Dubcek at the same time—after a welcome to the president at the airport—went to the Sports Hall to watch Ivan Lendl's tennis match. After all, all the important people were present in parliament. Neither was anybody surprised that the person who contributed most to averting the crisis on 29 March, caused by the disagreements regarding the name of the state, was not he, but Vaclav Havel chased from his hospital bed by his sense of responsibility. Moreover, the parliament passed it over with an understanding smile when on 20 April Alexander Dubcek, in his position as the chairman of the joint session of both chambers, pronounced such a historic constitutional law as the one on another name for the republic to be valid, despite the fact that the required three-fifths majority of deputies in the Slovak section of the Chamber of Nations did not approve of the law.

Even the public noticed, particularly during the live television broadcasts, that Alexander Dubcek's speeches cannot be compared with the statemanslike appearances by Vaclav Havel, Petr Pithart, and, after all, even with those by Marian Calfa.

It seems, however, that at this time, Alexander Dubcek is the only representative acceptable to all significant political groups in Slovakia, the interests of which are so diverse. That testifies to the crisis in the Slovak representation.

It was necessary to articulate the above facts—if for no other reason than to make the initial position of the parliament leadership relative to its tasks publicly known. Let us note that a distinct role in the Federal Assembly will now be played, above all, by the representatives of the strongest alliance—i.e., the first deputy chairman Zdenek Jicinsky, a recognized expert authority; always patient and skillfully maneuvering Petr Kucera, and others. Thereby the problematic filling of the highest posts is somewhat diminished.

This, however, does not relieve the Slovak representation of the responsibility to seek a new distinct personality. It is in the interest of Slovak and Czech affairs.
[signed] Petr Sabata

Man Of 'Negotiation And Consensus'

In the interview with Jaroslav Veis, published in Friday's LIDOVE NOVINY, Marian Calfa states "I have been

and I am a person capable of negotiation and of a consensus on a common goal with the new spectrum of politicians." A man of negotiation and consensus is a self-characterization of the politician who will lead the federal government in a period so difficult that we can hardly imagine the rigors even in rough outline. Perhaps it would be better if a man of firmness and authority were at the head. Marian Calfa certainly has many good features but among them we could hardly find firmness or the authority arising therefrom. Of course, that is not unknown to the political officials who entrusted him with such a responsible post. I even fear that it was one of the main reasons why they did so. They wanted to have as the head of the federal government a person who is capable of negotiation and consensus. The question remains whether the opposite side will also be capable of negotiation and consensus.

The attack against Marian Calfa in the Tuesday issue of the lunchtime paper EXPRESS is an example of the argumentation which will be used against the old-new premier. Let us disregard the standard of the paper and the gutter style in which the article is presented. Yet, it also contains data and arguments that cannot be dismissed by a wave of a hand. I will recall at least one: Marian Calfa really acquired the post of the government head as a communist after the roundtable talks and then left the party. That is, after he negotiated and came to an agreement with the adversaries of the party in which he held office.

Until recently a closed season was in force and nobody reproached Calfa about it. Not even he himself had shown any interest in dealing with such questions. On 1 June MLADA FRONTA published the record of the meeting of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium of 26 January last. At this meeting, Marian Calfa, together with Z. Cermak, was assigned the task of amending the press law in connection with a series of other measures which were to destroy the opposition. At the time, we expected Marian Calfa to take a stand and explain the issue. This has not happened, but in the meantime we acquired additional documents... And the closed season is over. I will not be far from the truth if I prophesy that, in the office of the premier, Calfa's "ability to negotiate and arrive at a consensus" will be subjected to a hard test.
[signed] Ondrej Neff

Economic Affairs Minister on Ministry Changes

LD0307221890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Beginning today you will have the opportunity on this program to get to know the individual ministers of our new federal government.

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] The central planning organ, its latest name—the State Planning Commission—was in this building on Nabrezi Kapitana Jarose Street in Prague 1 for 41 years. Its work is now ending, and it will be replaced by the Ministry of Economics and the Ministry for National Economic Strategy. It is one of the greatest changes in the method of management of the economy of our state during the whole period of its existence.

Mr. Minister, your intention—and no doubt the dream of many rationally thinking people—to create the Economics Ministry, has been fulfilled. What significance do you ascribe to this and what will happen next?

Well, I ascribe significance above all from the viewpoint of my activity in the previous government when, in the final analysis, not just I but other members of the government also managed to bring developments during the six months to the situation where the State Planning Commission will be abolished, sector ministries will be abolished, and one economics ministry created. There will be a certain amount of jurisdiction but also, at the same time, some responsibility will be broken down or allocated from the current federal level to the republic level.

I think that this is one of the very important steps toward a rationally functioning economy; it is one very important step of economic reform. It means that basically the Federal Ministry of Economics will be responsible for the sector of fuels, energy, and metallurgy—both of iron and nonferrous metals—in addition to some smaller associated activities while, at the same time, there will be a very strong group at the Ministry of Economics which will concern itself with strategic questions of development, engineering, and partly the petrochemical industry. Basically, the Ministry of Economics will be ensuring state policy in the area of fuels, energy, raw material policy, the area of agrarian policy. It will simply be setting the basic trends of what the state wishes to support under the new conditions. At the same time, together with an independent central State Bank and together with the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, it will be responsible to a considerable extent for the day-to-day running of the economy.

I would like to emphasize once more that these changes will be connected with a certain movement of people. They will be connected with a reduction of the state apparatus, and I would like to emphasize that we will put in maximum effort to ensure that all these changes take place in a civilized, decent, and humanly acceptable way.
[end recording]

Interior Minister Declassifies Stepan Trial

AU0507073990 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 30 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Degree of Secrecy Zero"]

[Text] In a letter addressed to Marie Markova, chairwoman of the tribunal of judges of the Municipal District Court for Prague-1, which is trying the case of defendant Miroslav Stepan, Jan Langos, the federal minister of interior, approved of the demand that the court proceedings be open to the public. In accordance

with generally valid and internal regulations of the Ministry of Interior, where the basic criterion is the determination of the degree of secrecy, the material about the activity of the former secret police concerning this case is not the subject of a state or professional secret at present. The minister of interior has no right, however, to declassify facts concerning the sphere of activity of other ministries.

Inquiry Into Semtex Tests Ordered

AU0307150890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 Jun 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Federal Ministry of Interior on British Television Program"]

[Text] J. Langos, the federal minister of interior, has responded to a British television program on tests of the explosive Semtex, allegedly conducted on board an IL 18 civilian plane in 1984. According to the CTK foreign service, the Thames Television network was to have broadcast this program, which contained serious accusations concerning the activities of one of the former constituent parts of the Federal Ministry of Interior, on Thursday, 28 June 1990. Jan Langos ordered that a consistent inquiry be conducted into all circumstances that were subject of the British Thames Television network's broadcast and into all information made public in this broadcast. The public will be informed about the outcome of this inquiry.

OF Allegedly Interfered With Pithart Appointments

AU0407144590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 3 July on page 2 carries 1,100-word "excerpts" from an interview with Petr Pithart, premier of the Czech Republic, which was broadcast on television "on Sunday, 1 July, after the first session of the Czech Republic Government." In the interview, Pithart reveals that he wanted to appoint as a member of the Czech Government an unidentified member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ): "I wanted to have him in the government not as a communist, but as an expert whom I know and about whom I am convinced that he is a competent man and a decent person." Pithart notes that for the same reasons he also wanted to have in the new Czech Government "a member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, despite this party's defeat in the elections, because even in his case I was convinced that he would be an asset." Pithart admits that he "failed" because "naturally, [not only the premier but] also representatives of the movement who won the elections have a say in the composition of the government." Nonetheless, Pithart implicitly criticizes the Civic Forum (OF) for having prevented him from appointing these two ministers: "I believe that we should, especially today when the elections are over, afford the luxury of assessing people not as members of a party, but as people. Not as a luxury of magnanimity, but as a sensible, reasonable, and pragmatic principle."

In the remaining portions of the interview, Pithart expresses his opposition to the application of the "principle of collective guilt" and to "sweeping judgments" in dealing with the communists. While "communist mafias" need to be destroyed where they still exist, decent people and competent experts should not be forced to leave their jobs just because they happen to be members of the CPCZ.

Pithart on Czech Government Program

LD0207184690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Czech Premier Petr Pithart delivered the Czech Government's policy statement to the Czech National Council in Prague today. The government, in preparing its policy statement, concentrated only on the basic directions of their future endeavors and the tackling of individual problems, and all that is not clear-cut and detailed today can be and indeed is a challenge for the search for common solutions. Petr Pithart used these words to open his dialogue with the deputies, which will culminate tomorrow in an open debate in the Czech National Council's building. [passage omitted]

Premier Pithart also spoke about the government's attitude toward a market economy. He said that the state should secure an effective development of the economy with the minimum number of officials. This is why he asked the Czech National Council's deputies to speedily discuss a bill that would enable a thorough restructuring of some ministries. The government furthermore made it abundantly clear in its program that it will encourage private enterprise and privatization. It also promised that it will take care to ensure that the old bureaucratic procedures and petty practices, which are still hampering private citizens in their business activities, despite the operation of new laws, will be eliminated. At the same time, however, Petr Pithart said that as in all modern European countries, in our country, too, economic policy must be at the same time a social policy.

[Begin Pithart recording] We regard it as one of the most important duties facing this government to protect against the harshness of the system those people who would find themselves in conditions of competition at a disadvantage to the rest, for no fault of their own. This concerns primarily pensioners, citizens with reduced working capacity, and young families with small children. The government will take care, even during the difficult period of transition, to ensure that the principles of social justice are observed. Pensions and other social benefits will be tied to price movement or, as the case may be, to the development of living costs, so as to ensure that the living standard of pensioners and weaker social groups does not suffer. In the wage reform a minimal wage will be clearly defined and that wage will be guaranteed.

We shall strive for full employment on the principle of free choice of occupation. We shall strive to ensure that unemployment does not exceed a socially tolerable limit,

and that it is as brief as possible for individuals. The life of unemployed citizens must remain a dignified one. In the interests of this, the government intends to cooperate on the new legal adjustment of financial compensations and benefits.

In proposing a number of measures we are also aware of the influx of the young generation demanding job opportunities. The government will allocate budgetary funds to support retraining and the creation of new jobs. It will make possible longer care for children by extending the provision of maternity and child benefits and by creating opportunities for women to work a shorter workday. We also envisage that the time for training young people for occupations will be extended, and that the basic holiday entitlement for the purposes of rest will be extended by one week. [end recording]

According to the new government of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, clearly defined economic relations and a share of self- administration should also be clearly applied in the health services sector. The intentions proceed from the idea that each citizen has an individual responsibility for his own health, but that the government must guarantee a standard level of medical care. [passage omitted]

At the close of his speech to the Czech National Council, Petr Pithart gave a glimpse into the philosophy from which the government proceeds in drafting its program.

[Begin Pithart recording] There is continuous talk about the return to Europe. To what kind of Europe do we want in fact to return? Most frequently, what is meant is an economically powerful Europe of supranational, suprastate integrational groupings. There is, of course, also Europe as a community of nations. We also want to belong to such a Europe as a self-confident nation with respect for itself. Everything we want to do is also linked to this notion. We shall however, only acquire self-confidence and self-respect if we give an opportunity to all living traditions and all living spiritual currents to speak; and if we give an opportunity to people of goodwill to speak and act regardless of their view of the world and party affiliation. Only in this way will we rid ourselves of the feeling of insignificance and also of the regrettably typical Czech narrow-mindedness threatening both our ordinary and festive days. [end recording]

Pithart on Structure of New Czech Government

AU0307150190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 30 Jun 90 p 1

[CTK report on interview with Czech Republic Premier Petr Pithart in Prague on 29 June]

[Text] "One of the considerations by which I was guided when forming the government was that people from outside Prague as well as those from Moravia should be represented in it. I have been successful in that," Czech Republic Premier Petr Pithart Petr Pithart told the CTK correspondent. "The public may be surprised to see that the number of government members has increased. The number of deputy premiers declined by one, but we will have a new minister who will be responsible for liaison between the Czech and Federal Governments. This minister will not be responsible for any ministerial department. The Ministry of Engineering will be completley new and strong because the Federal Government has abolished the former Ministry of Engineering, Metallurgy, and Electrotechnical Industry and because this whole sector now comes under the jurisdiction of the republican governments. This task conforms with our ideas about the strengthening of the republics. We are also going to set up an Office for the Administration of National Property with a small staff. The government member in charge of this office (minister—chairman) will, in fact, implement the first reform steps. In harmony with the structural changes at federal level, we are also setting up a Ministry for Strategic Planning and Development. This ministry will pursue the long-term needs of the Czech Republic so that one might speak about a 'Ministry for the Future.' The Ministry of Water Economy and Wood-Processing Industry, on the other hand, has been done away with. I believe that by doing this we have not only managed to abolish one ministry but, also, to greatly help our forests. The wood-processing industry will now come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of the Environment will be responsible for surveillance over forests. Another addition is the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, which is also retained at the federal level. The republics will be setting up labor offices and they will attend to social security. The republics' jurisdiction over these matters is therefore absolutely logical and warranted." .

Czech Deputies Approve Government Program

LD0407085590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0400 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] After a 10-hour debate, deputies of the Czech National Council approved yesterday the policy statement of the government of the Czech republic, thereby expressing confidence in the new Czech Government. They adopted a resolution specifically on the Moravian issue, which says that the rehabilitation of the land administration, on the basis of the principle of self-adminstration, will be resolved finally under the new Constitution. However, even before this, the Czech National Council will be able—by legal regulations—to amend territorial divisions anticipated in the final solution.

More on Newly Appointed Czech Government

AU0407170990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

["pv"-signed report: "Most Members New; the Czech National Council Presidium Appointed a New Czech Republic Government"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—The Czech National Council Presidium appointed a new Czech Republic Government in Prague on Friday [29 June]. [passage omitted]

Of the 21 members of the Czech Republic Government, 14 are new. The Civic Forum is represented by ten members in the government, the Czechoslovak People's Party by two, and the Movement for Autonomous Democracy by one member. The remaining government members are without political affiliation (although one of them was proposed by the Christian Democratic Party). Of the Czech Republic Government members, 16 come from Bohemia and 5 from Moravia and Silesia. [passage omitted]

Composition of the Czech Republic Government

Of the members of the previous government, seven are represented also in the new government:

Premier—Petr Pithart, LLD. (Civic Forum) [OF].
Deputy Premier—Frantisek Vlasak, doctor of natural sciences (OF).
Deputy Premier—Docent Engineer Antonin Baudys, candidate of sciences (Czechoslovak People's Party).
Deputy Premier—Professor Milan Lukes, PhD., doctor of sciences (OF).
Minister of Construction and the Building Industry—Engineer Ludvik Motycka (Czechoslovak People's Party).
Minister of Trade and Tourism—Engineer Vlasta Stepova, candidate of sciences (OF).
Minister of the Environment—Bedrich Moldan, doctor of natural sciences, candidate of sciences (OF).

New members are:
Minister of Finance—Engineer Karel Spacek (without political affiliation).
Minister of Education, Youth, and Physical Education—Professor Petr Vopenka, doctor of natural s?iences (without political affiliation).
Minister of Culture—Milan Uhde, PhD., (OF).
Minister of Health—Martin Bojar rpt Bojar, doctor of medicine, candidate of sciences (OF).
Minister of Labor and Social Affairs—Engineer Milan Horalek, candidate of sciences (without political affiliation).
Minister of Justice—Leon Richter, LLD., (without political affiliation).
Minister of the Interior—Engineer Tomas Hradilek (OF).
Minister of Industry—Engineer Jan Vrba (without political affiliation).
Minister of Agriculture and Food—Bohumil Kubat, doctor of medicine (without political affiliation).
Minister, Chairman of the People's Control Committee—Engineer Bohumil Tichy (Movement for Autonomous Democracy).
Minister (in charge of the future ministerial department for strategic planning and development)—Engineer Karel Dyba, candidate of sciences (without political affiliation).
Minister (in charge of the future ministerial department for engineering)—Engineer Miroslav Gregr (without political affiliation).
Minister ("communicator" with the federal and Slovak governments and in charge of foreign relations)—Jaroslav Sabata, PhD., (OF).
Minister (in charge of the future Office for the Administration of National Property and Privatization)—Engineer Tomas Jezek, candidate of sciences (OF).

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 2 July on page 1 carries a 300-word "CTK, ru"-signed report on the new Czech Republic Government. The report mentions that the minister who represents the Christian Democratic Party in the government is Petr Vopenka.]

Changes Announced in Slovak Security Apparatus

LD0407154990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Summary] (Vladimir Borodovcak), first deputy minister of interior of the Slovak Republic, spoke at a news conference today about changes in the security apparatus.

Thirty-two heads of district headquarters of the National Security Corps have been replaced by men selected on the basis of strict ethical and psychological criteria.

With regard to taking on members of the former secret police to public security corps they must fulfill three conditions:

1. They must be recommended by a civic screening commission.
2. They must pass strict professional and health tests.
3. Working collectives to which they are to be incorporated must agree with their admission.

With regard to updating equipment, the Public Security Corps has already been given telefax machines and by the beginning of next year a unified computer network is to be completed.

As the Interior Ministry has been given a lower budget this year in order to update transport and criminal police it will limit investment projects and forego modernization of weaponry.

Criminal activity in Slovakia has increased and there is a shortage of several hundred investigators. To deal with this, by September new ones should be brought in by upgrading some lower- grade National Security Corps officials, by an intake of graduates from the National Security Corps college, and also by an intake of civilian applicants.

Slovak Premier Meciar Warns Against Ethnic Unrest

AU0307145290 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Jun 90 p 2

[CTK report: "We Do Not Want Ethnic Unrest"]

[Text] Bratislava—At yesterday's press briefing in Bratislava, Vladimir Meciar, Slovak Republic premier, stated that one of the key problems which the new government will have to deal with is the nationalities issue. "We do not want," he said, "unrest motivated by national or ethnic passions to break out in southern Slovakia. We do not want social development to decelerate in these regions, nor do we want to continue with the prevailing situation when the Slovak language is not fulfilling its function as the language of communication throughout Slovakia."

In this connection, he stressed that the government wants to cultivate pride in belonging to the republic in all citizens regardless of their nationality. Apropos relations with the Hungarian Republic, V. Meciar pointed out that the Slovak Government will support the rights of Slovaks to implement their national interests in Hungary. According to him, it is impossible to demand that Slovaks in Hungary have as many rights as Hungarians in our country, but a purposeful effort has to change the situation for the better.

In his replies to questions, the Slovak premier underscored his intention of building a strong national republic and of reducing the influence of the central federal system.

Meciar Briefs Press on New Government

AU0307145590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 29 Jun 90 p 2

[CTK report: "A Generally Acceptable Program"]

[Text] Bratislava—V. Meciar, Slovak Republic premier, and other members of the government held a press briefing in Bratislava yesterday. Frantisek Miklosko, Slovak National Council [SNR] chairman, was also present.

In his introductory statement, the Slovak premier spoke about the possibilities taken into consideration when the new government was being formed. The government is constituted as a coalition government, and this had been taken into account from the very beginning. No government appointment has been made permanent; this will depend on the results of each member's work. We are transforming the system into a parliamentary democracy, he said, which requires supervision—as well as support—from the SNR. The Slovak Government will endeavor to formulate a program that will be generally acceptable.

He later gave a briefing on the government's future activity, which is distinguished by several new details. "When forming the government, we had to concede the fact that there are very few women in political posts. Despite a great deal of effort to ensure that at least one woman enhanced this government, we were unsuccessful; so it will be less attractive, but I think it will be equally functional." However, a Government Committee for Women and the Family will be established; this will deal with their problems.

V. Meciar also gave a briefing on the division of individual departments, on the changes to them, and on the means for directing them. For example, Jan Carnogursky, Slovak Republic deputy premier, will coordinate the activity of the education, culture, health care, and labor and social affairs ministries. The government will establish a department, which will be under his supervision, to deal with the supervision of the press, radio, and television. He will also be responsible for resolving nationality issues. The Ministry of Culture will no longer direct church policy; a special department and a collective organ will be established for this. It is interesting to note that the government will set up a workers committee which will be a consultative organ for the premier and deputy premier. There exist preliminary agreements according to which part of the Office of the President will be set up in Slovakia. The preparation of specialists from Slovakia for foreign service will be augmented and the Slovak Republic's entry into foreign relations as a national republic is also envisaged. The Office for Privatization and the Administration of National Property is new. The newly established economy ministry will also be significant.

Meciar on Slovak Government Tasks

AU0407171390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Jun 90 pp 1, 14

[Interview with Slovak Republic Premier Vladimir Meciar by Alena Melicharkova; place and date not given: "The Government of National Cooperation"; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Bratislava — Premier Vladimir Meciar answered a number of questions a few minutes after he had taken the oath required by the Slovak Republic Government.

[Melicharkova] The former government of Premier Milan Cic was called the Government of National Consensus. What kind of character should the government you have formed have?

[Meciar] This is a coalition government. The possibilities for choosing its members depended on the agreements made between political parties which form the coalition. At the same time the federation, the functioning of the republic, and the necessity of the majority principle in parliament had to be respected. We have agreed upon the adoption of the following principle, however: This is not a coalition government. This is a Slovak Republic Government irrespective of its members' party affiliation. We want it to be a government of national cooperation. Such a government anticipates cooperation among all political forces and also among all the people who stay outside any political party—cooperation among those who are united by their work and who will have respect for nationalities, for religion or personal credo, and for the individual interests of everyone.

[Melicharkova] Two years of difficult work are awaiting you. Indeed, there are many problems. Which one would you like to solve first?

[Meciar] Above all, we have to deal with the employment of university and high school graduates. We cannot put this off. Indeed, young people were the most active force behind the revolution which brought freedom.

There are many problems in other spheres. We want to establish an economic center with the objective of reducing the number of ministries. For instance, the abolition of the Slovak Planning Commission as such must be dealt with. One part of it will merge with the Ministry of Civil Engineering and Industry into a new ministry. Later the Ministry of Forestry and Water Economy should merge or unite with the Ministry of Agriculture in order to reduce an apparently inflated number of ministers in a short period of time—in a year or so, I believe. Besides organizational steps, decisive steps concerning the [ministries'] content will also have to be taken. We have something to build on. The previous government has done a lot of work; we do not have to start from scratch, but we will continue and will develop what has been good in the activity of the previous government. We hope we will be successful and we hope that this will lead to more success in achieving working results.

[Melicharkova] Today you are presenting your policy statement to the Slovak National Council. Can you tell us, at least, something about its strategy?

[Meciar] We want to clearly define our standpoint on the future federative arrangement of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. We are going to unequivocally define the standpoint on economic reforms, social consequences, and the entire administrative system. The final objective is to take the enterprises out of the hands of the state while reducing the function of central organs and to let the enterprises manage their business without our telling them what to do, to whom they can give how many korunas, and so on. The system of administration should change as a whole.

[Melicharkova] Speaking about economy, the question of implementing economic reforms comes to mind. Even its creators differ in the opinion on how fast and when they should be implemented.

[Meciar] Yes, one group speaks about a gradual implementation of the reforms so that social securities remain undisturbed. Another group says that a slow dosing would cause a slowdown in the whole process and that an explosion of social shake-ups would threaten to break out later. The implemented model will be based on a mutual agreement between the governments. In our country this is also conditioned by dismantling the administration of the federal branch organs—those organs which will have to be transferred to Slovakia. This is also influenced by conditions in the energy sphere; in conversion—which applies to the whole engineering industry; in the environmental sphere—which is a limiting factor on the feasibility of further industrial development; in the underdeveloped electronics base; and in the information system. The government will have a lot of work. The problem is to carry it out quickly, with as little impact as possible on socially weaker individuals, namely pensioners and workers. This is why we plan to create a council of workers at the premier's office who would speak up about what they think of the situation. We are also going to create a Women and Family Commission, in which women would be significantly represented. The commission will be subordinated directly to the deputy premier.

[Melicharkova] There is a strategy for how to solve many a problem. Life is unfathomable, however. Which problem would you not like your government to be confronted with?

[Meciar] I would very much dislike confronting a situation in which social unrest, or hatred and a grudge, would reach such a scale that the state would be forced to intervene. If we find solutions to the problems other than enforcement by the state, I will be happy. If we do not find such solutions, I will be terribly sorry and it will hurt.

[Melicharkova] Mr. Milan Knazko is a minister without portfolio in the 23-member government. What will be his work in this newly created organ and what will he be responsible for?

[Meciar] So far, it has been customary that the Slovak Republic premier was also the Federal Government deputy premier. The fact that Slovak opinions were interpreted in the Federal Government only as the opinion of one individual was not sufficiently taken into account. The premier also received tasks which were beyond the authority of the Slovak Republic Government. We have decided to abolish this mechanism. National government premiers will not be Federal Government deputies. It is necessary, however, to build a mechanism of relations between the governments and this is what Mr. Knazko will be responsible for. We will be responsible for functional, for mutually interconnected relations, for mutual understanding, and for the availability of information to both sides. We also intend to establish a presidential office in Bratislava soon, so that the president might freely commute between the two parts of the republic in order to perform his office. We have also agreed that the governments will establish their representative offices. Not diplomatic missions, but groups which will organize cooperation, meetings, and the transmission of information.

[Melicharkova] The public has noted a great deal of fuss regarding television recently. The hitherto unresolved question of who is authorized to administer the television, radio, and press office in Slovakia is behind this. Could you specify your ideas?

[Meciar] We have taken the whole information system out of the jurisdiction of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Culture. We are also considering creating a committee which would be chaired by the first deputy premier, Mr. Carnogursky. We anticipate that there should be two national television channels and two national radio stations; the federation would have the possibility of entering into

their programs anytime. Basic activities should be established and controlled by national governments. This is in the national interests and it corresponds to existing experience gained from practical activity. Despite this, I am anticipating disapproval be from people, I have no reason to hide this. I hope that television and radio will help us in achieving this. We have promised ourselves democracy, humanity, and the rule of law, so it should also be implemented in these mass media.

Slovak National Party's Stand on Minorities

AU0507074390 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 30 Jun 90 p 4

[Statement by Engineer Jozef Zima, executive secretary of the Slovak National Party: "The Stand of the Slovak National Party"]

[Text] In 1976, the president of the republic confirmed by his signature the validity of the International Pact on Civil and Human Rights; this pact has been valid for all of us since then.

We live at a time of rediscovery of words and terms such as nation, fatherland, God, home, love, and truth and I assume that it is the original, human meaning of these words that we are rediscovering. It is on this premise that I want to base my stand on the nationality question. Unfortunately, the reality for the Slovak nation is such that, in the present [Czechoslovak] state, it has partly the status of some kind of a large ethnic minority and partly the status of a nation. Our aim is to achieve that Slovaks become a fully fledged nation, provided with equal rights, in the spirit of the above mentioned pact.

A sovereign, independent, and proud nation has no need to humiliate other nationalities which share its fate and territory. This is our message for all Hungarians, Germans, Ruthenians, and others. We do not intend to pay others in their own coin, also in view of our proverbial pacific disposition and hospitality, we do not want to return to them their own past treatment of ourselves. Yet it needs to be said quite resolutely and unequivocally that we will not let anyone and anything continue usurping our national rights, that which belongs to us, but that we will protect and promote these rights. After all, even in a highly democratic country such as the U.S. English is the sole official language. At the same time, every ethnic group or nationality has the opportunity to freely develop its own culture, if it is interested and feels the need to do so. We intend to behave similarly—the Slovaks' national and Christian traditions on the one hand and room for nationalities, their loyalty provided, on the other.

This presupposes, however, that all nationalities in Slovakia will respect our national and state sovereignty, in accordance with all rules of international law and the above mentioned pact. In other words, the key to a solution lies in mutual respect, with priority being accorded to the interests of Slovaks as the state- forming nation. We do not deny anyone the right to sovereignty and do not want others to deny this right to us. Czechoslovakism proved to be pernicious not only for Slovaks but also for other nationalities because it served as an instrument for pitting them against the Slovaks. Prague centralism has always been adept at putting this instrument to use.

We therefore say—in the future independent Slovakia nationalities need not fear for their rights in the spirit of international agreements, provided that they will recognize that which belongs to every state-forming nation.

Slovak Workers' Forum Established

AU0307164790 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Jul 90 p 2

[Bohunka Urbanova report: "The First Meeting"]

[Text] Bratislava—Representatives from workers collectives in many important Slovak enterprises participated in the first pan- Slovak meeting of the Workers Forum held in Bratislava on Saturday [30 June]. They discussed draft principles for the Forum's program and submitted them to the workers collectives for discussion. They established an 11-member Coordinating Committee and accepted an appeal to found organizations—clubs, societies, parliaments, and charity and trade union organizations—in their enterprises and places of residence.

Adamec on CPCZ's Internal Situation

AU0307154790

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 June on page 2, under the headline "About the Party and About Himself," carries a 2,600-word interview with Ladislav Adamec, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) chairman, by Jan Lipavsky. The interview deals with internal Communist Party issues and with an accusation made against Adamec by the Prosecutor General's Office.

In Lipavsky's opinion, it seems to the public that the party's Executive Committee is somehow classifying information according to what should and what should not be made known to rank-and-file party members. Adamec replies: "Nothing of the sort is happening, nor must it happen. This is an erroneous assumption, but I have to admit that a reliable and well-functioning information system—in both directions—has not yet been established. Among other things, apart from RUDE PRAVO, there is no other publication to regularly provide the membership base with detailed information on what all sections of the party are doing and, on the contrary, to provide the Executive Committee with information, besides what is gained from other sources, on the situation in the districts."

Lipavsky states that because there is no such information system, the party does not know how many platforms are contained within it or what kind of ideological and political profiles they have. Adamec admits that something very fundamental has not been done. The party "has not managed to ascertain, by solid sociological

methods, what kind of stratification there is within the party." He adds that without the results of such a survey, it is difficult to determine a course of action for the CPCZ that would "correspond to reality."

Lipavsky wants to know whether there is a possibility that the party will disintegrate into two or even more groupings. Adamec declares that he believes "it will be possible to prevent something like this from happening. I think, like many other party members, that it is feasible and necessary to get rid of everything that is outdated, but that it is also feasible and necessary to agree—within the framework of the CPCZ and in an open discussion among the individual idea streams and platforms—on a new organizational concept and on the CPCZ's political character. Otherwise, we are threatened with disintegration and divided left-wing forces would issue from the CPCZ; one way or another, they would not fare well in the next elections."

The interview also deals with an issue that is personal to Adamec. According to Lipavsky, the CPCZ chairman allegedly has "problems with the Prosecutor General's Office, or more precisely, with the criminal act that he supposedly committed as Czech Socialist Republic premier." Adamec replies that he has nothing to hide. He states that he is accused of "allegedly abusing the authority of a public official," when in 1987, at variance with the appropriate articles of the Constitution and the constitutional law on the federation, he agreed to allocate worn out household furnishings worth 26,340 korunas to the outgoing premier. He adds that he rejects the course of action being taken against him.

At the end of the interview Lipavsky asks Adamec why he intends to resign as CPCZ chairman and whether this has something to do with the complaint made against him. Ladislav Adamec states that this is not the case at all. He was elected in a secret ballot at the extraordinary congress with the proviso that he would remain in his office until the scheduled 18th CPCZ Congress. He continues: "I am fulfilling my promise and my duty. I am not so young any more and I think the new and very demanding tasks awaiting our party should be fulfilled by younger people." He concludes by saying that the future belongs to the young and that he has faith in their sense of social justice. Before retiring he intends to make sure that the congress preparations proceed in a democratic spirit.

CPCZ College Ceases Activity

AU0307154190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jun 90 p 2

[CTK report: "The End of the 'Sorbonne'"]

[Text] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Advanced School of Politics ended its activity yesterday. It had been operating for 37 years in our college system. At its concluding session, the academic board discussed material pertaining to its activities during the recent past, considered the results achieved in all spheres of its work, and critically evaluated its share in the deformation and defense of party resolutions. A total of 5,829 students graduated from the college, 2,134 students graduated from postgraduate courses, and several thousand students participated in short training courses. Two thousand eight hundred and seventy-four graduates were granted doctorates in social sciences and more than 300 candidate and doctoral dissertations were defended.

Socialist Party Central Committee Meets

LD0307220690 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] The most important points on the agenda of today's session of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] Central Committee in Prague were the calling of an extraordinary congress of the CSS in September this year and the organizing of a party-wide referendum on the name of the party by the time of the congress.

Milan Adam, its deputy chairman entrusted with the party leadership of the party, first called on all members to unite the CSS and to end the conflicts through which the party lost its credibility with the public in the past.

National Social Assembly Explains Goals

LD0407175190 Prague CTK in English 1525 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 4 (CTK)—Representatives of the National Social Assembly, set up here on Tuesday, informed newsmen today of the principles and goals of the movement.

A statement, approved by the participants in the assembly yesterday, who represent a revival stream within the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, stated that the present party leadership had lost its political and moral credit. Since it failed to draw conclusions from the negative 40-year history, which resulted in the discreditation of the party, a National Social Assembly, which wants to follow up the traditions of the National Social Party founded in 1897, has been set up.

The participants called for the resignation of the whole Central Committee of the Socialist Party and called on all Socialist Party members to join the assembly. Assembly representatives told the press they do not want to break up the party, they strive exclusively for its revival.

The statement of the National Social Assembly has been backed by the National Socialist, members of the Milada Horakova Club, the confederation of Political Prisoners and the Club of Democratic Intellectuals. Jan Skacel became general secretary of the assembly.

In another development today, the Socialist Party Central Committee disagreed in its resolution with the convening of the National Social Assembly, seeing it as an attempt at breaking up the regularly convened Socialist Party Central Committee. It added that it does

not condemn platforms of different opinions but methods with which they assert themselves.

The party Central Committee asked the party court to examine whether the convening of the assembly at the time of the regular party Central Committee session was not contrary to the party rules.

Public Polled on Price Increases, Pensions

LD0207191390 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak citizens are afraid mainly of the rise of the prices of food (51 per cent), rents (15 per cent), fuels and energy (14 per cent) and transport [word indistinct], according to a public opinion poll of the Institute of Public Opinion Research at the turn of May-June 1990.

At least 700 respondents over 15 from the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic answered also questions concerning the rise in pensions. 22 per cent of them consider the rise in the lowest pensions the most urgent, 7 per cent emphasize balancing of pensions alloted in differed years, 57 per cent call for the adjustment of pensions to the increase in the cost of living and 10 per cent for the adjustment of pensions to the rise in wages. 4 per cent do not have an explicit opinion on this issue.

67 per cent of pensioners call for pensions' adjustment to the increase in the cost of living.

A majority of the respondents are of the opinion that a higher share of one's salary should be paid as a pension. 49 per cent want a pension containing 80 per cent of their salary.

Survey on Foreign Capital Participation

AU0507073790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Jun 90 p 5

[Dr. Jaroslav Novak article: "How Shall We Enter Europe?"]

[Text] The Federal Statistical Office conducted a questionnaire survey of approximately a thousand of the more significant industrial, construction, and trade companies and cooperatives with the aim of determining the conditions they can provide for and their interest in cooperation with foreign partners. There was a substantial response to the survey in the company sphere. Approximately one-half of the organizations was in favor of the possible cooperation and agreed to the publication in the Czech and English languages of the data obtained by the Federal Statistical Office. (In case of interest, it can be ordered by the title Invest in the Heart of Europe).

The general returns of the survey offer more than just a few details of interest. The greatest interest in foreign cooperation was shown by the Czechoslovak industrial companies (approximately 60 percent), smaller companies and cooperatives from the retail marketing sphere (52 percent), while the least interested in this respect are construction enterprises (27 percent). Czechoslovak organizations estimate the total volume of foreign investments needed at $5,300,000.

The retail organizations have the loftiest visions (on the average $11,600,000 per company or cooperative), construction companies follow closely behind ($11 million), and the industrial companies have the least demands (on the average "only" $9,600,000). Organizations in the industrial sphere keep closer to ground in the expected volumes of foreign credits. Nevertheless, the total of their demands exceeds $2.5 billion ($2.7 million per company), which represents about one-third of our present gross liabilities to the developed countries.

The approaches companies take to the employment of foreign capital differ. Most of them were in favor of production cooperation, then for marketing cooperation, next is the "joint venture" form, participation in the form of the foreign partner share holding, and the least favored was participation by means of bonds. The views on the percentile participation of foreign capital were less dispersed. An absolute majority of companies (93 percent cases) require a minority participation by the foreign partner, substantially fewer companies spoke for a majority participation, and a rare exception is a company considering a full takeover by the foreign partner.

So much for requirements, but what do the Czechoslovak companies have to offer their foreign partners? It may be said that the standard of performance of the companies interested in foreign cooperation is above average. Last year, seven percent of the industrial enterprises operated at a loss (15 percent of these in the Slovak Republic and over three percent in the Czech Republic), while more than ten percent of the centrally administered economic organizations ended in the red.

From the viewpoint of the intentions for future development, it is disconcerning that only roughly one-half of the industrial companies (54 percent) are considering qualitative changes in their production program (innovations in the present products or providing a wider selection). The others are banking on their current type of development, which is more quantity oriented and which apparently will not open for them a road to the demanding world market. Of course, one cannot just rely on an eventual foreign partner. The time requires that everybody makes an attempt first to help himself. If not the developments in the world around us, then the fundamental social and economic changes in our society should convince all producers—and not only them—about this fact.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

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De Maiziere on European Cooperation, Disarmament

LD0507110490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0952 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Text" of statement by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere to People's Chamber in East Berlin on 5 July]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—

I

In recent days our attention has been directed at renewal and change in domestic policy. Foreign policy activities, however, are of equally great significance. The Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow, the NATO summit in London, East-West relations in general, and also the 28th CPSU Congress provide the framework within which the chances for European cooperation will develop.

For the first time, we are involved on our own responsibility in realizing European cooperation. The contrast between East and West, which for 40 years has divided and split Europe, is dissolving. We are in a period of transitions to new forms of international relations. The desire for peaceful and sincere cooperation determines our foreign policy. The age of the Cold War is finally ending. We must not waste or gamble away this unique chance that history is giving us. The Iron Curtain has fallen; in its place are coming bridges and links.

In this connection the fundamental question about the GDR's foreign policy is: How can we best make our contribution to the simultaneous overcoming of the division of Germany and the division of Europe? How can we make use of the transitional period until the completion of Germany's unity in order to create a secure entry into a new Europe of cooperation?

The overcoming of Germany's division must not mean that GDR history and its memory are extinguished. For the people between the Elbe and the Oder the GDR's existence will certainly not become a mere footnote in world history and in their own lives. To have lived in the GDR will remain part of our personal biography. Equally, the autumn of 1989 is one of the most important events in the history of Germans on the path to democracy and, therefore, will remain unforgettable. We are bringing this experience into our common German future.

II

One important aspect of our foreign policy is to implement German unity in good harmony with our neighbors.

Particularly with a view to our past, we have an obligation to deal circumspectly with our neighbors' sensitivities. Hence, the borders in Europe are for us inviolable, immovable, and no longer up for discussion.

Both German states want to cooperate as equal partners with their neighbors to help overcome the division of Europe caused by the Second World War and to promote security and cooperation in Europe.

The forum for this is the two-plus-four talks. On 22 June the second foreign ministers' meeting took place within the framework of these negotiations. The talks have entered their crucial phase. All sides have shown their readiness for compromise. The difficulties are no longer insurmountable.

All sides involved in the two-plus-four talks are adopting a constructive attitude.

None of the four powers is attempting to perpetuate its original rights or to encroach upon the united Germany's sovereignty in any way. On the contrary: all are trying to end as soon as possible the existing, in many ways special, situation in which Germany has found itself since the Second World War. Everyone wants this. The still outstanding differences of opinion relate solely to the question of how the balance of security in Europe, which for over 40 years has ensured peace—defined here as the absence of war—can be ensured equally effectively by means of new treaties. Thus we can move from peace preservation to the active shaping of peace.

The two German states are partners and affected parties in the two-plus-four negotiations and are seeking with the other partners a stable settlement which will embrace all of Europe. A glance at history will show that there has often been serious attempts to secure lasting peace for Europe. These good intentions often foundered even after a short time, primarily because instability also found its way into the structure. Avoiding this in the future demands of all those involved the highest degree of trust, goodwill, and sober calculation. Honesty and foreign policy are inseparably linked. Compromise formulas which subsequently are interpreted differently by each party should finally be consigned to the past.

The difficult issues which are to be negotiated in the next few weeks include transitionary stipulations for ending the overall responsibility of the four victorious powers for the whole of Germany.

A united Germany, this is our declared aim, must be as sovereign as the other states in Europe. For us sovereignty is not a possession to be jealously guarded. A united Europe will only deserve the name if certain sovereign rights are surrendered to Europe in the process of European unification. This applies to all and prevents national arrogance. It minimizes international conflicts. It is a welcome consequence of this policy that finally the territories of the GDR and the FRG will no longer have the rank of the most heavily armed region in the world. In the military planning games of the last few decades,

Central Europe was a marching area for NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This condition must be ended and should not be moved to other regions.

The aim of mutual noncapacity to attack set down in the mandate for the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces remains valid. To this end, the option existing with conventional forces of offensive operations must be abolished. In the process of conventional disarmament all stocks of nuclear and ABC [nuclear, biological, chemical] weapons must be drastically reduced. Our aim is a removal of all conventional nuclear and ABC weapons.

We are looking with great expectations to the NATO summit, which is now taking place in London. From our viewpoint, NATO must see itself as an alliance of democratic and free states in a comprehensive sense, and fundamentally reform its structure and strategy. This means ending the previous strategy of flexible response, together with first use of nuclear weapons and forward defense. This would be a decisive contribution to a lasting peace in Europe with suitable security guarantees.

As long ago as 1967, with the adoption of the Harmel report, NATO set itself the aim of "achieving a just and lasting peace order in Europe with suitable security guarantees." The decisive preconditions for this are now given. The historic moment demands a political signal of comparable significance which adds to the 1967 vision specific ideas and proposals for its implementation.

The Warsaw Pact is at present in what must be the most difficult phase of its existence. For the GDR this is a special challenge in terms of foreign and security policy. The GDR's alliance policy toward the Warsaw Pact should not lead to an obstacle for German unification. Neither should German unification provoke any disregard for the legitimate security interests of the Soviet Union and the other East European states. This means the Warsaw Pact must, as it now stands, be cautiously changed, also with the help of the GDR. We need an all-European security system. Overcoming the blocs and not shifting the blocs is our aim.

It was the concern of state and government heads of the seven members states at the Political Consultative Committee meeting of the Warsaw Pact states on 7 June 1990 in Moscow to inaugurate a change in the Warsaw Pact from a military to a political organization. At the meeting it was decided to fundamentally examine the Warsaw Pact's character, function, and activity. On the path to a real European security community, a transformed Warsaw Pact could help, together with NATO, to bring about and secure an ordered transition from East-West confrontation to a European peace order.

III

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, at his latest meeting with U.S. President George Bush, suggested that the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states should settle issues connected with the security policy aspects of German unification and the transition to a European peace order. The GDR takes a positive view of this idea.

In our view, the following fundamental elements should be contained in such a treaty:

- a nonaggression undertaking;
- an agreement on lasting security policy cooperation between both alliances within the framework of the CSCE process;
- a renunciation by the future Germany of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, which will apply to the development, production, purchase, deployment, and transit of such weapons;
- transitionary rules and the fixing of a schedule on the deployment of foreign forces in, and their withdrawal from, Germany.

The future security alliance to which Germany is to belong must be of a primarily political nature. Its main task will be ensuring peace by means of an adequate capacity for defense, linked to arms control and disarmament, as well as the creation of all-European security structures.

IV

The Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe has, in the past, proved valuable to the exchange of opinions and the mutual understanding of differing opinions. The CSCE is the ideal forum through which to interweave the German unification process with the reshaping of Europe. With its mechanisms of follow-up meetings and expert talks, it has become a recognized body which should now be institutionalized. The CSCE must take the form of an amalgamation binding under international law. To this end, the GDR Government, together with the CSFR and the Republic of Poland, submitted on 12 June 1990 a proposal to the other CSCE states on institutionalizing the CSCE process. The three countries proposed the introduction of regular—that is, taking place at least once every two years—meetings of state and government heads of CSCE states. They also propose the creation of a European Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe. This should meet, as a rule, twice a year at the foreign minister level, and should be accorded extensive authority. A permanent secretariat based in Prague should be assigned to it. Regular meetings of specialist ministers should also be held, in the GDR Government's view.

The council would determine the tasks for two CSCE centers. The "Center for Conference-Building, Arms Control, and Verification," based in Berlin, would be concerned largely with the monitoring of treaties agreed in the area of military security.

The "Center for the Prevention and Resolution of Conflicts," the seat of which has not yet been decided and must be discussed, should help gather information on possible causes of and possibilities for resolving potential conflicts and military disputes, and to prevent their occurrence. The succession of meetings and conferences,

agreed in the concluding document of the Vienna meeting, is to be maintained.

In order to stress the CSCE's special importance for East-West dialogue, the GDR Government has proposed that the results of the two-plus-four negotiations be submitted to the CSCE summit at the end of this year.

At the CSCE conference on the "human dimension" in Copenhagen from 5 to 29 June, the GDR set a new line. It was a conscious decision by the GDR Government to appoint a member of the citizens' movement that emerged from the peace and human rights movement in the GDR as the head of our delegation. This created an opportunity for members of nonstate initiatives to participate in the conference as guests of the delegation.

The GDR Government welcomes the results of the Copenhagen meeting. The concluding document provides decisive progress in safeguarding the citizens' freedoms and also on the question of observing and monitoring the implementation of human rights. The GDR Government would particularly like to stress that the right to free elections and the opportunity to file for the observance of this right, like the principles of political pluralism and the rule of law and rights of national minorities, have now been anchored in a pan-European way.

The document has achieved a new quality in the implementation of unified human rights standards in the whole of Europe. This could provide an initial boost to the shaping of cooperation in other spheres of the CSCE.

The GDR delegation, together with the FRG delegation, submitted a proposal on protecting against tyranny, totalitarianism, racial hatred, anti-Semitism, and the persecution of religious and philosophical dissenters. Like the GDR proposal aimed at securing social human rights, this found a place in the final document.

V

Europe is growing from below. The people in Europe must have greater possibilities of getting to know one another; of gaining awareness of what they have in common, but also how they differ; and of learning mutual tolerance. The GDR Government supports all considerations aimed at setting up a pan-European youth organization. The young people of Europe must get to know one another. This includes speaking at least one language of a neighboring country and meeting as frequently as possible, in order to perceive the particular customs and traditions of other countries and to accept them as self-evident. An international youth policy, in the interests of understanding, is the best possible investment in a peaceful future.

Overcoming the division of Europe will remain superficial if it is not carried through by the people themselves. The idea of a common Europe is not only restricted to the possibility of being included in the economic development of West Europe.

Under the conditions of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany state, cut off from the outside world, it was not possible for such a European consciousness to develop in the GDR. Thus we need an intensified dialogue, beyond our borders, and in particular with our immediate neighbors. We support all activities directed to this end. Thus the heritage of the East European democracy and human rights movements, also indispensable to the shaping of a common Europe, can be preserved.

VI

The vote on 18 March brought with it an unequivocal duty for GDR citizens to advance with haste along the path to a mutuality of European states. An important step along this path is the integration of the GDR into the EC, which will go into effect with German unity. This is a major task, and one which we must master with responsibility and care.

The EC has led to the formation on our continent of a stable community. Over a period of 30 years it has made an important contribution to the promotion of economic prosperity, stability, and peace among West European countries. A particular feature is the balance between economically strong and economically weak regions. This community must not lose its dynamism. The process of German unification must strengthen the power of the community; it may not and will not lessen it.

From the start, the GDR Government endorsed unification. This is reflected also in the provisions of the State Treaty, which unequivocally lays down the principle of integration into the EC.

Some of the first foreign contacts made by the GDR prime minister and foreign minister took the form of visits to the EC Commission in Brussels and Strasbourg. The spirit of European solidarity which we found here made a particular impression upon us. Thus a joint course of action could be forged, in a friendly and yet pertinent manner, for overcoming the problems confronting us. We wish to ensure that no EC state suffers adverse effects from the economic unification of Germany process. We have provided information on the current situation and on the projects in the various sectors of the GDR's economy, and will continue to do so. Agreement was also reached during the talks that specialists from the individual GDR ministries should exchange views with the EC Commission on the necessary transitional regulations for the GDR.

Both sides are in agreement that in such difficult areas as, for example, agriculture and fisheries, the GDR economy cannot immediately be fully subjected to EC regulations. The period until we face competition in the EC can only last a few years.

The GDR is bringing into the EC a pool of experience which no one else can provide. This relates to relations with the countries of East and Central Europe. No one has been able to collect such knowledge and experience, partially—of course—founded on errors and false assessments.

We are striving to consolidate the economic links that have grown up in the general change in the economy. The negotiations with the USSR and the other CEMA states to transfer the existing trade contracts to a Deutsche mark basis have been conducted intensively in recent weeks and are as good as concluded.

The principle of maintaining trust was laid down in the State Treaty. Politically the two German states have thereby commited themselves to bringing the GDR's relations with the CEMA states into European unification. We are striving to secure and expand economic cooperation with CEMA states through economic promotion of our enterprises. This secures jobs in the GDR and also in East Europe.

In all this we should not overlook the European Council. This oldest West European organization from the post war period has played a fundamental role in the defense of human rights, and in strengthening the rule of law, political pluralism, and the cultural identity of West Europe. Its significance will grow further for interstate cooperation in view of overcoming the division of Europe. It has adapted very quickly to the changes in Central and East Europe and offered its good services to all interested states. The GDR received special guest status. This means that involvement in parliamentary assembly of the European Council is open to us, and we can enter a series of European Council conventions.

During the GDR foreign minister's visit to the European Council we sounded out the possibility of membership in the 1950 human rights convention, for which we declare unreserved support.

VII

In view of the fact that our attention in the last few weeks has been concentrated above all on the changes inside the GDR, people in developing countries are asking whether we are neglecting or even forgetting them. We are aware of our responsibility in a closely integrated world. The end of the East-West conflict confronts us more than ever with the task of doing all that is in our power to do justice to our responsibility in the North-South conflict.

In its very first government statement, the government came out in favor of a more just international economic order. This includes a trade policy which gives the Third World a real chance in the world market and is based on solidarity and partnership. We should not forget: In the Third World it is often a matter of pure survival; with us it is a matter of living better. There is an enormous difference!

The GDR will continue in full economic, medical, and social development cooperation with its previous partner countries. In addition, there will increasingly be an all-German commitment in the Third World. In this we share the realization that any aid must support the efforts of the Third World states themselves and strengthen their confidence in their own powers.

VIII

This government has not yet been in office for 100 days. Much has been demanded of it in many areas, all at the same time. Nor will this change in the next few months.

Be assured that in the future we will continue:

- to order internal GDR affairs as before in a decisive, circumspect, and socially responsible way;
- and to handle external affairs cautiously, in a balanced way, in security policy terms, and with a great sense of responsibility for peace.

De Maiziere on European Tour, Investment, CDU

AU0407090290 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Jun-1 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by Gunter Pieper, conducted "on the way back from London to Berlin" on 27 June: "It Is Important that Both Sides Contribute a Great Deal to Unity"]

[Excerpts] [Pieper] Mr. Prime Minister, with your talks in London you have concluded your marathon tour of the past few weeks which took you to the capitals of the four allied victorious powers of World War II. In addition, you held talks with leading representatives of the EC, of the European Parliament, and with heads of government in Strasbourg, Brussels, and Dublin. Drawing up a balance sheet of the tour, on what issues did you mainly agree with your partners in talks on the external aspects of German unity, and on what issues did you notice differences of opinion?

[De Maiziere] I met with no serious reservations against German unification anywhere. All my partners in the talks, both in the East and West, are in agreement that the German people can, may, and should exercise their right to self-determination in connection with unity. They have all expressed the hope for a favorable settlement of the security-political issues, in a way that is not only accepted but supported by all. I saw my view confirmed everywhere that a unification process of two German sovereign states is taking place and not the accession of one state to another, as is constantly being insinuated. The State Treaty has been read with great interest everywhere. It shows that we did not give in on essential points. Just think of the statement on property. Negotiations were certainly not easy here. It is, however, the result that counts.

[Pieper] You just mentioned the property issue. On all your trips you tried to attract foreign investors to the GDR, pointing out the conditions that your government has created. Do you think that the reason for the current reserved position of the investors might be that they want to wait and see how the GDR will develop economically and politically?

[De Maiziere] No. They are all aware of the fact that German unity will come—particularly since the signing of the German-German State Treaty on economic, monetary,

and social union. They know that they need not be afraid of unforeseen developments. I had to dispel their fears that the reconstruction of our economy will be solely a German-German matter. I succeeded in making it clear to my partners in the talks that we have created legal conditions that correspond to the rules of the EC and other countries. I also made clear another thing: The GDR is a good location which may serve as a door to the East.

I must admit that we have not yet succeeded in getting this message across. People are still concerned about "49 to 51 percent" [for joint ventures], "no acquisition of land," "what will become of the old liabilities," and so on. Both in Paris, at a meeting with the Entrepreneurs Association, and in London, at a meeting with a selected circle of British industrialists and bankers, I noticed that many practical details are not yet known. For this reason, during my visit to Paris, I offered to organize a seminar to explain the legal conditions that have been created in our country. I offered the same thing in London.

Generally, investors are interested in carrying out business in our country, and I have made it clear why we want this. First, we need competitors to make competition possible. When the trust authorities privatize certain enterprises, I would not like to have one potential buyer only, who might not submit a very favorable offer. We would like to be able to chose the best offer, the best model that ensures jobs. Second, fears that a united Germany might become very big and turn into an economic giant would best be countered by broad activities on the part of foreign investors. [passage omitted]

[Pieper] Mr. Prime Minister, let me ask you a question in your capacity as chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the GDR. What do you think and expect of the process of the upcoming merger between the West and East CDU?

[De Maiziere] At a small CDU congress in the FRG, I gave a speech recently in which I described the promotion of the economy as one of the most important elements. The economy, however, must not become an end in itself, but must be adapted to the needs of the people. In the process of the unification of our parties, a joint committee should be established which should draft a new party program. It should be a program that is neither that of the West not that of the East CDU. In the same way, the result of the unification of the two Germans states should not be an FRG or a GDR.

[Pieper] Chancellor Kohl mentioned you as the only future deputy chairman of the CDU in Germany...

[De Maiziere] Well, this is not exactly what he said. Helmut Kohl explained what the future structures of the CDU could be like. In this connection he mentioned my name. I am in favor of developing the contents first and of creating structures later. [passage omitted]

Eppelmann Sees 50,000 NVA Troops Retained

LD0507130890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1109 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere's government statement on foreign policy to the 21st plenary session of the GDR parliament today was characterized by balance with the standpoint on NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and on Germany's role in the European peace process. [passage omitted]

At the start of the meeting, government representatives answered questions from deputies on defense policy, finance, and the transport sector.

Disarmament must be a European process, a German go-it-alone policy would be harmful to Europe, Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann explained. The fixing of ceilings for a united German Army would be determined largely by the results of the two-plus-four negotiations and the Vienna disarmament talks. He could imagine that of the existing 98,000 members of the NVA, a total of 50,000 might remain in future. "The stationing of the USSR Western Group of Armed Forces is a piece of rubble on the battlefield of history," the minister said. There are at present between 360,000 and 380,000 armed Soviet soldiers on GDR territory, and with civilian security forces, wives and children, the overall figure is close to half a million. According to realistic estimates, their complete withdrawal will take some six years. "We must seek political solutions for the coexistence of German and Soviet people on GDR territory in a united Germany." [passage omitted]

SPD's Egon Bahr Begins Work as Army Adviser

LD0507144690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1228 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Social Democratic Party disarmament and security expert, Egon Bahr, began his activities today as adviser to the GDR National People's Army [NVA]. He was thereby acceding to a request from Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann "to work in his area of security policy." Eppelmann told journalists Bahr's work will begin immediately and is expected to last six months. The minister hopes Bahr will share his experiences in this area, since security policy is a question of European dimension in the process of German unification.

Professor Egon Bahr expressed his joy at the request to make available to the GDR Armed Forces his experiences. He said a special settlement for the NVA must be found in the process of German unification. The goal must be "a single German Army." He cannot imagine Germany as a country with two different armies and two different security zones. This will not contribute to stability in Europe, but will rather have the reverse effect.

As far as the existence of two military alliances on German soil is concerned, he feels this can only be a transitional settlement for a limited period of time. Both

NATO and the Warsaw Pact will one day disappear, to be replaced by a new, comprehensive security system.

Second State Treaty Talks Open in Berlin

LD0607095390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0841 GMT 6 Jul

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The negotiations on the second State Treaty between the GDR and the FRG began in the Council of Ministers building in East Berlin today. The GDR delegation is led by Guenther Kraus (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], who also conducted the negotiations on the first State Treaty. FRG Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble heads the FRG delegation.

The talks began in the presence of Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere and representatives of six Federal laender.

CDU's Krause on Unification Voting System

LD0507152190 Hamburg DPA in German 1312 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—One day before the negotiations beginning in East Berlin on the treaty on German unification, GDR chief negotiator Guenther Krause today reaffirmed the position of the East Christian Democratic Union [CDU] and Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere on the form of elections and accession: "Vote separately and count the results in the constituencies." In the night after all-German elections, which will probably take place on 2 December, the accession of the GDR should take place, said the CDU state secretary to journalists in East Berlin. These electoral arrangements will ensure "legal peace in the country," because it offers the smaller GDR parties the opportunity of sending deputies to an all-German parliament if they receive more than the five-percent threshold on GDR territory.

Krause stressed that the GDR side should enter the negotiations with shared positions regarding the date of the elections and the five-percent threshold. There are differences with the Social Democratic Party coalition partner on the date of accession and counting. Krause said of the upcoming treaty negotiations and still outstanding measures on German unity: "The whole undertaking is more complicated than was the economic, currency, and social union." [passage omitted]

Meckel, Skubiszewski View Goerlitz Treaty

LD0507191590 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1605 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Report on interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel by Bernd Eichmann; place and date not given]

[Text] Tomorrow it will be 40 years since the agreement on the Oder-Neisse border was concluded between the GDR and Poland in Goerlitz. The border in the 40th year of its establishment—its final establishment—means kilometers of truck lines, and difficulties caused by the reconstruction work to increase the through traffic capacity; it means the DM and thus the European community on the two rivers. After 40 years, what is still important from the treaty? It cannot be just a little, for otherwise this event would not have have had a festive concert in Frankfurt on Oder devoted to it, in the presence of the Polish and the GDR foreign ministers. This alone is however surely not sufficient as an excuse. Bernd Eichmann asked Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel how they view the historical significance of the Oder-Neisse frontier.

[Begin recording] [Meckel] I think that this treaty was enormously important. It established a border that did not previously exist between Germany and Poland and, as was said, it was to be a permanent border. This was difficult for the Poles, for it was also a new border for the Poles, and they had a new border in the east, so it was a completely new situation. It was also difficult for the Germans; and the two states said that this would be a permanent border, because only if borders are permanent and secure can peace and reconciliation between the peoples develop. This was expressed then, and I find it important and central that what we learned at school is now really true, in any case the fact that this border is to be a border of peace, that means an element of a future European peace order. I am still convinced of this today. We are now in the process, after the passing of the statements by the two parliaments, who clearly expressed this, and which have been handed over to the Polish Government, of drawing up a treaty with Poland for the future joint Germany, and we are already talking about this now. I consider this to be central, and I think that it should also determine the lives of the people, so that there will be a more secure and at the same time more open and permeable border for the people to be able to meet one another.

[Eichmann] What historical significance do you see in this treaty, Minister Skubiszewski?

[Skubiszewski] It was the first treaty to have recognized this border internationally and time, time has shown the importance of this recognition. This treaty will last for ever, not only as a juridical act but also as a political act. This treaty has also not only been mentioned in the resolution by the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic but also, for the first time, in a resolution by the German Bundestag in Bonn. It took a rather long time, it took 40 years, but finally it has been shown that in the eyes of Federal Germany, too, this was a normal treaty.

[Eichmann] Now this treaty has been important for the security of the Polish western border. Nevertheless, it certainly did not fulfill all wishes; it did not bring together all the people from here and there from the Oder and from the Neisse, in the way that would have perhaps been necessary. If there was to be a new treaty what would it have to contain so that, above all, the

people could meet, so that it would be a border that did not divide but join together?

[Skubiszewski] The connections between people are not necessarily the subject for a border treaty. There is already so much integration between Poland and the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic that one should not have any worries about this, but there still remain a few things to do. Therefore in my opinion, the new treaty between all-Germany and Poland could not only view the border as an object but also look at other questions—namely, the questions of the future, for the border—that is the past. The border has already been for many years an element of the European peace order and it will remain thus, but we need a new, a closer cooperation for the future, and the German-Polish treaty after unification can create the basis for this.

[Eichmann] Minister Meckel, Poland has often feared that if the two German states unify, then possibly Europe could end at the Oder. Mr. Skubiszewski surely also knows arguments about this, and that the Poles will remain outside, or so to say, they will be (?swept away). These anxieties exist. What can we do to dispel them, to make sure that they do not arise from German policy, i.e. GDR German policy, and then from all-German policy?

[Meckel] We will try to do many things to combat this and we think that a close relationship between Germany and Poland on all levels, economic, political, cultural, and also in quite close spheres such as for example such a state [words indistinct] the states could and should grow more together, that there is much here that is possible. Not everything can be done by states. I think that some is the work of the government and other things the work of local authorities, from societies, people who come to each other...

[Eichmann, interrupting] Yes, but the borders must be permeable?

[Meckel] As a government we will do as much as is possible, we have in future the problem here that we are a part of the EC. This is a tremendous chance, and for us as Germans a chance that others in East Europe do not have. The fact that we have it and others do not is a problem in this connection, possibly also at this border, if it is shown that perhaps here at this border there is a drop in prosperity, this always brings problems with it. We want trade in goods to be limited accordingly if it is possible and necessary, although we think that this must not be automatic for the EC, we have close relations, and everything cannot simply stop. It has to be intensified; it possibly has to be done differently, but everything should not be declared invalid. We have the intention that the movement of people should be made possible in the future—that is, we are not striving for visas for Poland, we think that it is good to maintain visa-free traffic.

[Eichmann] A final question to you, Minister Skubiszewski. Sometimes in the Republic of Poland there is talk that it is a question of forming a hard axis of Warsaw, Budapest, Prague in order to act as a counterbalance to the unifying Germany. How realistic are such considerations?

[Skubiszewski] This is not a counterbalance, or a reaction to Germany's reunification, not at all. This is quite an incorrect opinion. This is our new local cooperation in the south and has nothing to do with our relations with Germany. These relations are quite autonomous, and our cooperation with Czechoslovakia and with Hungary is another area of our policies.

[Eichmann] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Those were the opinions of Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski. Bernd Eichmann spoke to him and to GDR Foreign Minister Meckel.

Eppelmann, West Berlin's Momper Meet for Talks

Wall To Be Dismantled by 31 Dec

LD0507163690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1542 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The border troops will have completely pulled down the wall between East and West Berlin in the city center by 31 December. This was agreed by GDR Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann and Governing Mayor of West Berlin Walter Momper in Strausberg near Berlin this afternoon. The outer ring of the former border fortifications will be removed by the end of 1991.

Eppelmann announced at a news conference that a West Berlin firm has been contracted to deal with the rubble from the wall, which is to be turned into crushed stone and used in the construction of the Hanover-Berlin high-speed rail link.

Berlin Recommended as Capital

LD0507175190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1635 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—[passage omitted] The two sides [Momper and Eppelmann] urged that Berlin should be the future capital of Germany. Eppelmann was here thinking of the 16 million GDR citizens who must have equal opportunities in the unification process.

A further topic was disarmament and security issues. Momper said that German unity must be accompanied by disarmament steps. The governing mayor noted a reduction in the old image of the enemy. [passage omitted]

Former Intelligence Chief Urges Stasi Amnesty

LD0607092190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0528 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Text] (ADN)—The former secret service chief of the GDR, Markus Wolf, has called upon the governments in Bonn and East Berlin to achieve early agreements on immunity for former Stasi spies, so that the security of the united Germany will not be endangered. During his

period in office, nearly 2,000 GDR agents had been active in the FRG, among them about 30 to 70 top people, said Wolf on Friday in an interview with the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. Their closeness to leading figures could in isolated cases "be of the same political explosiveness as the Guillaume case." If they stayed now and remained active "that would mean a real danger to the legitimate security interests of the FRG or from December of the united Germany," said the former spy chief. Not only Eastern intelligence services were trying to woo undetected top spies, but there were "also in the Middle East and elsewhere interested people with a lot of money."

He himself would face the FRG or later the all-German legal process with a clear conscience, as he had had nothing to do either with kidnapping or killing people.

Diestel Gives Stasi Files to Interior Ministry

AU0507124390 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 2 Jul 90 p 1

["opz"-signed report: "Diestel Wants To Hand Over Stasi Files"]

[Text] Leipzig—The Interior Ministry will soon put the files on the activities of former leaders of the Stasi state security system that have been examined at the disposal of the GDR investigation authorities, Interior Minister Diestel told DER MORGEN during the congress of the German Social Union. So far, no legal proceedings have been instituted against former Stasi members because the judicial bodies do not have the necessary documents.

Diestel believes that the role of the "officers in special operations," (OibE) which is still obscure, has not been underestimated by the Interior Ministry. He stressed: "We have carried out thorough investigations." The list, however, with the names of the 2,000 officers in special operations is not in the Interior Ministry's possession but has been submitted to the competent special People's Chamber committee. The list is in the right hands there, the interior minister pointed out. He also stated that he is glad that he does not have the list of these "very dangerous persons." After all, I have enough to do with the Red Army Faction.

DSU Demands Diestel, Ebeling Resignations

LD0507142890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1246 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a statement to parliament, Professor Hans-Joachim Walther, German Social Union [DSU] chairman, demanded on behalf of the DSU parliamentary group that the three deputies who recently resigned from his party should resign their seats. Ministers Diestel and Ebeling should also resign their ministerial posts.

People's Chamber Session Debates Media

LD0507175590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1537 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Exactly 111 hours after the introduction of the social market economy, Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere addressed one of the most burning issues which has concerned GDR citizens after the Deutsche mark start in the GDR: unjustified price differences. [passage omitted]

The debate on the future of the GDR media was characterized by a sharp attack on former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] propaganda and a tribute to the work of journalists since autumn 1989. Under the former party and state leadership the media had broken the backbone of many people in the country (DSU) [Democratic Social Union]. The SED propaganda monopoly had been "a garbage can which continually poured its rubbish over the people" (Liberals). "Effective media" were "indispensible" precisely in an honest review of the past (PDS) [Party for Democratic Socialism]. The DBD/DFD [Democratic Peasant Party/ Democratic Women's League of Germany] stressed its high regard for the "many honest journalists in the GDR." The preservation of the major local media in the GDR was urged by the SPD [Social Democratic Party].

Signals were set for further shaping the legal system in the GDR with the three laws adopted in a second reading before the recess for lunch. The law on judges was the most important paper. It stipulates judges are independent and subject only to the Constitution and the law. The future central judges selection committee of the People's Chamber and the 14 other bodies in the bezirk [area] capitals and Berlin will now have six rather than three months to scrutunize them. Constitutional laws on changing and supplementing the law on the GDR state prosecutor's office and on the constitution of law courts were also adopted. [passage omitted]

Views Market Economy Regulations

LD0607100590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0610 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the 22nd People's Chamber session that began in Berlin this morning, the deputies intend to pass additional bills on market economy and local government regulations. The debate started with the continuing question of time. The deputies will also be dealing with the first reading of the laender electoral law which is a decisive step on the road to German unity. The basic concept envisages the laender of Mecklenbuerg-Western Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony and Thuringia. In some districts a referendum will decide to which of these laender they will belong.

The individual bills concern improvements in regional economic structure, local government property and assets, the promotion of the structural and social adaptation of GDR agriculture and the introduction and

running of market organizations for agricultural products. Other matters to be dealt with include the adoption of further FRG legal regulations in the GDR and a bill on the transformation of publicly owned enterprises for the provision and organization of housing into charitable housing associations. Finally a parliamentary investigation committee will be set up to look into occurrences at the Waldheim psychiatric clinic. The debate on a working group's report that has been investigating what has been happening in the energy sector, which was interrupted yesterday, will be continued.

Session Interrupted by Bomb Threats

LD0607101790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0948 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On account of three bomb threats the 22nd People's Chamber session had to be interrupted around midday today. People's Chamber President Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl asked all deputies to leave the building because of the threats, which have to be taken seriously, and to go to Marx-Engels-Platz.

Pohl on Supply Situation Normalization

LD0507164890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to Economics Minister Dr. Gerhard Pohl, the GDR Government is striving to solve the present supply problems within two to three weeks. He announced at a news conference in Berlin today that this is to be achieved through greater competition. The government had decided to bring more low-cost suppliers into the country with immediate effect in order to regulate prices through supply and demand. Pohl appealed to the population to inform the Office for the Protection of Competition of pricing irregularities.

Temporary Tax Rebate Protects Domestic Goods

LD0407161590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1326 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In place of the 11 percent or six percent import tax demanded by the Economic and Trade Ministry last week, which failed to gain the backing of the People's Chamber, there is now a temporary tax rebate for the protection of domestic goods. Accordingly, value added tax of 14 percent is to be dropped or lowered on selected products, which will reduce costs for the manufacturers and increase competitiveness. Press spokesman Matthias Gehler announced this at a news conference in Berlin today.

With reference to prices which are in some cases higher than those in the FRG for the same goods, he said that the office for competition will examine the situation and intervene. Buyers' behavior will also have a regulatory effect. [passage omitted]

Justice Minister Leaves League of Free Democrats

LD0307111690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1101 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Justice Minister Professor Dr. Kurt Wuensche has today resigned from the League of Free Democrats (BFD). He had been a member of GDR liberal parties for over 44 years.

According to the Justice Ministry, his ministerial function is not affected by this step.

Arms Supplied to Egypt, Syria in 6-Day War

LD0507162890 Hamburg DPA in German 1540 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR supplied arms to the Egyptian and Syrian side during the third Arab-Israeli war (six-day war) in the summer of 1967. There is evidence to this effect in secret documents, of which DPA has copies. It emerges that the GDR was the first country of the Warsaw Pact, after the Soviet Union, to react positively to President Janal Abd al-Nasir's request for arms.

The GDR supplied fighter aircraft of Soviet construction, several thousand air-to-ground missiles, and military items from the Carl Zeiss Jena publicly owned enterprise. According to the documents, they were transported via Yugoslavia. Clearly, the GDR must also have supplied tanks and other heavy equipment; one document stated: "Reference was made once again to the fact that tanks and other equipment (and if need be packaging) should be unmarked." The National People's Army sent military advisers to Cairo to hand over the arms.

The deputy government leader at the time, Julius Balkow, justified the arms supplies on the grounds of GDR solidarity. "The Israeli aggression, carried out in the framework of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, renders necessary determined joint action on the part of the socialist countries toward the Arab countries."

The "six-day war" took place from 5 to 11 June 1967. It was triggered by an Israeli attack. After wiping out the Egyptian Air Force, Israel took possession of the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank as far as Jordan.

Modrow Denies Supporting Call for Demonstration

AU0407140490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jul 90

[ADN report: "PDS Denies Call for Demonstration"]

[Text] On Monday [2 July], Hans Modrow, honorary chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], rejected any connection with calls for demonstrations in Hamburg and other cities.

According to the party's press spokesman, flyers have been circulated in Hamburg, Berlin, and other cities calling for a demonstration on 3 July in Hamburg and in

front of the U.S. Embassy in Berlin. Apart from the manager of a Hamburg factory and the "People's Party of the Turks," the flyer is said to also have "PDS—Modrow" as one of the signatories. Modrow has "absolutely nothing to do" with this appeal.

Meckel To Visit Brussels, Washington

LD0507161590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Next week Foreign Minister Markus Meckel will travel to Brussels and Washington to continue efforts for brisk progress in the two-plus-four talks on the external aspects of German unification. [passage omitted]

Meckel is expected in Washington on 13 July at the invitation of his U.S. colleague, James Baker, where the two men will continue the exchange of views on the progress of the two-plus-four negotiations which they held on Wednesday in Brussels on the sidelines of a foreign ministers' meeting of the Western industrial countries united in the "Group of 24."

In the talks in Brussels and Washington the contentious issue of the alliance membership of the future united Germany is also likely to be discussed.

Antall on Economic Package, Social Measures

LD3006093190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Has the government weighed up the fact that the tight situation of millions may become critical?

[Antall] Naturally it has done so. Nobody believes that Hungary and the other former people's democracies—such strong communist dictatorships—could simply transform at the wave of a magic wand into parliamentary democracies, even without the economic catastrophy which had occurred in these countries. The ruling class, if you like, has given up its power, has resigned, because the country became bankrupt.

I do not believe that anybody could assume that we would not want to, with the greatest pleasure, grant the greatest wage and pension rises and reduction in prices if it were possible. We had to choose between undertaking these unpopular steps and bearing the odium of it, or leading the country into financial bankruptcy.

[Reporter] Do you consider these social measures which you are planning as sufficient?

[Antall] Naturally I do not consider these adequate. What we have here is that the country must simply bear it. All we could do in the present circumstance was introduce this social measure, which is minimal, and this is known by everybody. In order to get the economic growth started these steps must be introduced.

Jeszenszky on NATO, Warsaw Pact, Romania

LD0107025290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified reporter on the "World Clock" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Let us first hear Geza Jeszenszky, in whose behalf a Hungarian foreign minister visited NATO headquarters for the first time. The Brussels visit was immediately preceded by the Hungarian Parliament's discussion on the relations of our country with the Warsaw Pact and its decision that the government should begin discussions about our leaving the pact. Is there, I wonder, some connection between the two events, that is to say parliament's decisions and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky's visit to Brussels?

[Jeszenszky] The Hungarian Parliament's decision, which came about after some serious preparations, and my Brussels NATO visit are definitely by no means connected in this way. Hungary looks upon leaving the Warsaw Pact as a process, and in this its first consideration is the national interest. But it also considers the European interest and Soviet interests as well. The Hungarian side was guided by the same thing during the NATO visit. The objective was to strengthen our relations with European institutions. So far we have had no official relations with NATO. NATO is a functioning international organization which can be called successful, consisting of the majority of European countries. NATO's most recent discussions and statements also indicate that it is very seriously considering that in the new European situation new steps are needed. The issue of European security, which up to now the two superpowers and the military blocs under their direction have kept in balance—albeit in an unsteady manner—is now being upset. At the same time, today this does not represent a dangerous situation, but at all events it is necessary to shape a lasting, new security system.

[Reporter] U.S. President Bush spoke in more or less similar terms this week when he said that we are living in a very uncertain world in which NATO is a stable point. At the same time it was said at Secretary of State Baker's news conference that it is possible that NATO might conclude some kind of defense agreement, not necessarily with the Warsaw Pact as a bloc, but perhaps separately with its member states.

[Jeszenszky] The security of Europe and the world requires that confidence should not be weakened but strengthened. Now, in my view, the new European situation and the appearance of democratically elected governments in Europe's central-eastern half can strengthen international security and improve the international atmosphere. Under current conditions, when the Warsaw Pact can in no way be regarded as a centrally directed bloc functioning according to a common, central will, while NATO is an organization functioning on the basis of an appropriate democratic mechanism, one can take steps jointly, if there is agreement. Therefore, for these two to conclude some kind of agreement, there is really not much sense in that Hungary, which is just wanting to get out of bloc politics, could not support such a thing. It would be expedient for these 23 European states, which are members of one or the other military grouping, to make a declaration, separately and jointly, in which they would guarantee that they will not attack each other. But there would be another element of this: that it would apply not merely to states belonging to the other bloc, but also to relations among themselves.

[Reporter] In recent weeks Romania and the situation of Magyrdom living in Romania have again come to the forefront. Romanian diplomacy is also striving to exploit international forums, just as it did in Ceausescu times, for asserting its own nationalist, chauvinistic historical view and power interests. Just as there is a new government in Czechoslovakia, there is also a new government in Bucharest. However, while President Havel said at the inauguration of the new government that the collective rights of Czechoslovakia's minorities must be formulated in a modern way, the Romanian government program on the other hand does not even mention the minorities. Just this week the Foreign Ministry in a

memorandum asked Bucharest for an appropriate explanation of the events of mid-June. How does Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky see the state of Hungarian-Romanian relations at the moment?

[Jeszenszky] Indeed, all the states in Central Europe, the new democracies and also those states which do not seem sufficiently to be progressing toward democracy are standing at a crossroads. Not only is their internal order and economic system changing, so, too, are their relations to each other. This lays a huge responsibility on the political leaders. I think that with most countries here there is a possibility, in the event of reciprocal goodwill, which I assume exists, for these countries to develop with each other new contractual relations based on really new foundations instead of the former verbal friendship, and to take interests, reciprocal interests, into consideration. We would strive for this with Romania, too. From a certain point of view, the current events might perhaps even act as a catalyst, and Romania will even more unequivocally have to face the question of what policy it wishes to pursue. This decision will have to be taken within a very short time, and if this decision is a movement in the direction of European norms, then we could begin to improve Hungarian-Romanian relations, which is a long process, but, in the end, one must not regard anything as hopeless.

[Reporter] Does the foreign minister, the government, have any concrete proposal, concept, plan, regarding this?

[Jeszenszky] At the beginning of January, the Hungarian Government indicated which issues are unresolved about which at the beginning encouraging promises were heard, but then nothing happened. We signaled to the Romania leadership, which did not exclude high- level meetings, that we would very gladly meet and discuss things with anyone, but that would require some kind of result. The existing promises, if not the commitments, would have to be fulfilled. If we see some movement in this relation, then we will begin further steps at any time.

Justice Minister on Constitutional Amendments

LD0207212490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1240 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Speech by Justice Minister Istvan Balsai at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly. Since October last year, our country's Constitution has been virtually continuously modified and a great many people have raised objections to this, saying that the Constitution is a basic law which has to express stability, the guaranteeing of rights. That is indeed the case, but now, when the state organization is being transformed to its very foundations, it is unavoidable that the Constitution regulating this organization should also change. An extremely important element of this change, moreover, I would hazard to say, one that from the point of view of the daily life of the country's population is perhaps one of the determining elements, is the transformation of the organization of local power, and, after this, the election of the new local leading bodies on the basis of legal regulation.

The essence of the constitutional amendment submitted to the esteemed House is that, abolishing the former council system, it should entrust to local self-governments the management of local public affairs affecting the community. The amendment provides for every fundamental issue connected with the role which the self- governments play in the state organization. It determines the National Assembly's powers, which extend to dissolving an unconstitutionally operating parliamentary body, to decisions affecting self-governments at county level, as well as to the formation of metropolitan districts.

Legislation of course will remain a determining parliamentary right also with respect to self-governments. An important change in the sphere of the competence of organs of state administration is that they have no right to take measures directly regarding the decisions of self-government. They can merely supervise the observance of the rules of law and can initiate measures at the organ level, be it the National Assembly or the Constitutional Court, or at the courts, in the interest of putting an end to a law-breaking situation.

Esteemed House: The new ninth section of the Constitution determines the fundamental rights that apply to every local self-government, from villages [koezseg], to the shires, [varmegye] or to the capital. The essence of these rights is that the tasks of serving the community should be performed freely and independently by the community itself, through its elected organization, and that it should have the necessary financial means for this. The local organizations of the exercise of power, the democratically elected representative bodies, have the right of local regulation and decisionmaking, and the property of the self- government is at their disposal.

It has the significance of a guarantee that the representative bodies' freedom of association is enshrined in the Constitution, paying heed to the fact that the faulty practice of the past two decades, which forced association, has justifiably provoked criticism from public opinion.

In connection with self-government regulation and freedom of decision, the legitimate question arises whether this freedom means that the self-government can set aside the rules of law which, for example, relate to the operation of educational or health institutions, or, for example, to monument protection or the regulation of other areas. Let me allude in this connection to the second paragraph of section 77 of our amended Constitution, which says that the Constitution and the constitutional rules of law are binding on all the organizations of society, on every state organ and citizen alike.

This argument, which on the surface seems to be a formal one, nevertheless means in content that the rule

of law expresses a social interest, on the basis of coordinating the various, frequently clashing, interests, which cannot be disregarded.

For the abolition of direct central direction, for the development of local self-government, there is a need for change in legislation as well. It is evident, in fact, that the rules of law have to determine demands that are important from the point of view of society as a whole, and that they must be observed by every local self-government, precisely in the interest of citizens' equality of rights, and in protecting values that are to be preserved regardless of local conditions. I remark only in parentheses, esteemed National Assembly, that these values generally, as a rule, do not clash with local interests; rather, the apparent opposition of interests is connected with a lack of money.

It is the legislator's job to devote increased attention to ensuring that he should really only decide from the center such issues where the given law has the force of guarantee from the viewpoint of the performance of the task.

One of the tasks of the self-government interest representative organizations could be taking a stand against an unjustifiable central regulation which precisely infringes the independence of self-government.

Esteemed Assembly: The draft bill, in one of the issues which provoked a big debate in the course of preparing the self-government law, in respect to the legal standing of the county [megye], contains the solution according to which the county is a level of independent self-government. The existence of this, however, does not limit the rights, the independence, of the self-governments of settlements, that is villages or towns. The county, as an independent self-government, will perform, for the settlements represented within it, those tasks which they are not capable of expediently performing themselves. Further, its task is to represent the interests of the settlements, their protection, if need be, even against the central administration.

At the same time, its traditional role of redistributing central financial means, which was a bad tradition, and which first and foremost caused the settlement's dependence on the county, will cease.

Further, the state of subordination, deriving from the county's rights of supervision and control, will also cease, because authorization for this will lie with state organs outside the self- government system.

The essence of the county, therefore, is the self-government of villages and towns, whose purpose is the performance of objectives of a common purpose. In accordance with this, the laws determine, for this self-government level, more, or more precisely, different duties than for the settlement self-governments. Incidentally, the problem of the county is expounded in detail in the justification of the draft bill on self-government.

However, you will have to take a stand, with regard to the county, also in the question whether in the future we should use the expression "shire" [varmegye], which better reflects historical traditions, or the expression "county" [megye], which has been used in the past four decades and which for today's generation is doubtless more habitual.

Esteemed Assembly: The draft bill refers to a separate law, the establishment of the detailed rules relating to local self- governments. Since we propose that the essence and guaranteeing rules of self-government be determined in the Constitution, we do not consider it justified that there should be a qualified majority decision when adopting the aforementioned separate law, that is the law on local self-governments.

I would like to briefly draw your attention to another issue. As I have mentioned, in the legal supervision of self-government, it is the right of the court to annul decisions that infringe the law, but the client, too, can only ask a court to reexamine this kind of official decision regarding self-government. These judicial powers make it necessary that the draft bill on public administration jurisdiction, which was as a matter of fact already submitted at the beginning of the year, should be put on the agenda of the esteemed parliament as soon as possible.

For guaranteeing self-government rights, it is also indispensable that public administration jurisdiction should be capable of functioning by the beginning of next year at the latest, since this is also the manner in which, in the last resort, the legal remedy of official decisions infringing the self-government law can be realized.

Esteemed Assembly: The draft bill submitted for the amendment of the Constitution makes possible the continuation of local self- government traditions; and it makes it possible that the basic demands, the self-government rights, which have evolved in Europe and which were formulated in the European charter on local self- governments in 1985, should become a part of the Hungarian legal system. Also in view of this I ask on the government's behalf that, after you have debated it, you kindly adopt the draft bill on the constitutional amendment. Thank you for your attention.

Deputies Discuss Pre-Agenda Matters

LD0207144790 Budapest MTI in English 1224 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 2 (MTI)—Prior to the vote on parliament's agenda, Arpad Goncz, interim president of the republic, addressed the session to explain why he chose September 30 to be the date for holding the municipal elections. Mr Goncz said this is the earliest day that it could be called in view of the fact that the mandate of present local councils expires one week earlier, and that the referendum—on the president of the republic—is timed for July 29.

Gabor Demszky (AFD) [Alliance of Free Democrats] requested the floor on an extraordinary matter. The MP [Member of Parliament] called attention to the danger posed by the new situation emerging with the withdrawal of Soviet Troops. Departing troops are leaving behind weapons, military appliances and explosives, greatly hazardous to man and the environment.

Subsequently, parliament noted the announcement by Lajos Bokros, MP of the Hungarian Socialist Party, that he is resigning his mandate due to other official commitments. MPs also heard the position adopted by the house committee, regarding the irregularities recorded during voting. The position holds inadmissible for any one deputy to vote instead of another one, and thereby alter the outcome of the voting.

The deputies also decided to put on the agenda a number of independent motions some with an urgency motion. Dr Tibor Molnar, requested in the name of the AFD parliamentary group the discussion of the amendment of the bill on the freedom of conscience and religion, including the churches. Parliament voted in favor of the proposal being included on the agenda but not the urgency motion.

Miklos Haraszti, who also spoke in name of the AFD parliamentary group, tabled an independent motion on the Committee of Unbiassed Information, and on the temporary order of appointing the director of the national media, the Hungarian radio, the Hungarian television and the Hungarian news agency, and discussion over the resolution proposal on the moratorium announced on frequencies. Deputies voted in favour of discussing it with the urgency motion.

In addition, deputies are to discuss ahead of the agenda the appropriation of 1989 accounts by government, and the motion containing proposals for improving the financial balance for 1990.

Referendum on Presidential Election Method

LD0407192990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Accepting the proposal of the government parties, the National Assembly has decided to call a referendum on the method of electing the president of the republic for 29 July. On its special session day, parliament amended the law on referenda and people's initiatives. Prior to this, in a debate which was not free of extreme emotions, the constitutional committee gave support for the proposal that henceforth signatures cannot be collected in workplaces and in the Armed Forces. The interior minister called people's attention to the fact that the referendum entails considerable material burdens, but the ministry is capable of preparing itself by 29 July. Parliament will next hold a plenary session on Monday, 9 July.

Interior Minister Supports Citizens Defense Group

LD0407153890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Correspondent Julia Torda report on Ministry of Interior news conference in Budapest on 4 July—recorded]

[Text] Interior Minister Balazs said crime in Hungary is depressing, a sorry state, and at the same time he gave an account of the steps planned by the Interior Ministry to stop the increase in crime. The interior minister called on the population to help. He spoke about support for mobilizing society, for citizens organzing self-defense and property defense. The members of these groups are volunteer civilians tasked with patrolling, uncovering crimes in process or those which have already happened, and informing the police.

Balazs Horvath does not, however, think that these groups should be given any kind of official authority, including also the right to ask for indentification because, as he said, it is possible that the criminals would attack people asking for ID. They will ensure greater attention from the police, as well as a united and usable example statute so that as many as possible can be registered at the courts as soon as possible. Apart from this, they can also provide them with minimal technical equipment. This organization has nothing to do with the former workers guard or the voluntary police, emphasized Balzs Horvath. These groups were created to counter the catastrophic crime statistics, to improve them. This is their only raison d'etre.

Socialist Party Criticizes Economic Plan

LD0307151890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] According to the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], the government's economic package plan increases inflation instead of slowing it down. The HSP faction held a short press briefing during the parliamentary break. Ex-Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi stressed that the 20-percent gasoline price hike had not been justified and the calculations, according to which the price hikes would increase consumer's prices by only two percent, were also false. Laszlo Bekesi believed that this would mean at least five to six percent rise in the price level. According to him, some of the elements of the package plan are essential. Other parts, however, are economically unjustified and their realization will bring about unpredictable consequences.

Budget Deficit Figure Revealed

LD0407152690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Excerpt] The state audit office has prepared a report on last year's budget, the deficit of which has by now reached 54 billion. A study of this can therefore be very instructive indeed. As the report establishes, the orderly,

expedient, and effective use of public money leaves much to be desired almost everywhere, in every checked case, and often the supervision does not conform with the most basic economic practices. The audit office proposes, for example, that the National Assembly only approve proposals for increasing expenditure that state where the money is to be taken from. Also, it must be decided what the task of the state is, and what public money can be spent on. [passage omitted]

Savings Interest, Fares, Insurance To Increase

LD0107144590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Excerpt] A series of economic measures come into force today in Hungary. For example, the OTP [National Savings Bank] is raising interest rates. Instead of the former 19 percent, the interest on savings (?deposits) will be 21.6 percent, and the earnings on pension savings deposits are going up by the same amount. The interest on deposit tickets [leteti jegy] will increase from the former 24 percent gross to 26 percent.

As a result of the introduction of the German currency union, air fares to the GDR are going up beginning 1 July. The full cost of the Budapest-Berlin return fare will henceforth be 16,600 forints.

Due to the annulment of noncommercial agreements between Hungary and the Slovak and Czech Republics, beginning 1 July a 40-percent fare increase is being introduced on the Prague service.

Beginning Sunday, the international rail passenger fares will also increase significantly. The cost of tickets to GDR destinations will increase about three-fold, while on trains to Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and the Czech and Slovak Republics, fares will increase by an average 40 percent.

Beginning in July, car insurance with the state insurance company will also be more expensive. The state insurance company will introduce a 40-percent increase for its Budapest and County Pest clients and 30 percent in the other 18 counties. [passage omitted]

New Daily Published With Austrian Participation

AU0407170690 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 3 Jul 90 p 9

[Tibor Fenyi report: "Austrian Capital for New Hungarian Daily"]

[Excerpt] Budapest—Yesterday, Monday, KURIR, the first daily with foreign founding capital, was published in Hungary. The Austrian trading company Deton holds 20 percent of the 55 million forint. The majority owner is the Hungarian company Kontrax; further shareholders are the Szikra (Funken) printshop and the Kozmo advertising agency.

The paper, which is published by the KURIR AG publishing house, offers another new feature: It is published twice a day—80,000 copies in the morning, 60,000 copies in the afternoon—and will leave only four of the 16 pages unchanged. [passage omitted]

Mazowiecki Speech Announces Government Reshuffle

LD0607094790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0706 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Esteemed house: This is a difficult time of trial for the Polish democracy that is being born. A lot indicates that we are close to the moment when we will all stand before a fundamental choice as to the road ahead. Either we will build new laws and new economic and political structures in conditions of accord about the most important matters, in conditions of respect for the law and mutual tolerance—which does not preclude political struggle—as we have done so far, or we will sacrifice the common good, accord, and the invaluable gift of stability and calm in the country for the sake of party discord, struggles of ambition at the expense of the structure of the state, our state.

A year ago, Poland became an example of the peaceful passing on of power to the first noncommunist government in Central Europe. Later, for many months, we were a pattern of calm but consistent transition from totalitarianism to democracy. Polish society was saved from confusion and violence. This brought Poland recognition in the world. The same applies to the commencement of the restoring to health of that which is most difficult—the economy.

Today, standing before you and before the whole of society, I must clearly say that I perceive a threat to this, our calm, Polish road of democratic transformations. I say this with great concern as I know what great weight Poles attach to the rule of order in the country. The feeling of responsibility for the country, for the state is weakening in the sphere of political life. Substantive polemics are replaced by a language of brutal fighting—also at this level. An opponent against whom one should struggle on the basis of debate is treated as a enemy to be destroyed. Actions which cannot be tolerated even in the most democratic country are multiplying. I appeal for self-control.

Poland needs wisdom, calm, and observance of the law. We have regained an invaluable gift of freedom, it must be preserved in the law, in institutions, and in stable rules of public life. Every citizen of this country—if only he wishes—can contribute his share to this work. I will say even more: He should contribute his share, because only the whole nation can build a stable democracy.

Mr. Speaker, may it please the house, we all know what high price society, all social groups, are paying for changes that are taking place in Poland. But I am convinced that there is no alternative way to a democratic Poland with market economy, and that it is an inevitable price for the return of Poland to the mainstream of history—to its own history. The past months have given an institutional expression of our will to break with the past radically. These have allowed the creation of a fundamental framework for the new political and economic system. We have—all of us together—done a lot during the past year. The party state has again become the state of the whole of society. Changes that we introduced in the economy are drawing the attention of the world. Legislative activity is creating the bases for the new legal state. Foreign policy seeks to ensure a safe Poland, keen on unity in Europe. There is a widespread change of people in management posts in all aspects of public life.

Is there any area that has not been subject to deep transformations? I do not use the words revolutionary transformations only because we have succeeded in achieving all this through the strength of an exceptional accord and social discipline, without force, with full respect for the law. This also includes those who sinned against the law through the decades. Much indicates that society values its achievements in conditions that we are coshaping as the government. Nonetheless, views are being expressed that we are advancing too slowly, that we are stubbornly sticking to agreements that are long outdated, that we are subject to legal formalism where it is appropriate to function with the aid of radical measures.

Advancing toward democracy and full independence, why have we chosen the road of evolution, of gradual and controlled changes? It is necessary to return to these questions, because in the reply are contained the basic convictions and principles of behavior of the government that I direct. The maintenance of the belief of society in our rationale is the condition of the [word indistinct], that bond of trust without which nothing is possible. Not much more than a year ago we began to dismantle the old system. We were then aware of serious domestic and external threats. We thus had to behave carefully and decisively. I think that the government, parliament, and the whole of society can be proud of the way in which Poland has avoided the dangers of that period.

That is already past. There is now no reason to fear outside intervention, or internal disturbances by the forces of the past. They have, after all, undergone an accelerated decomposition. Today we also should respect the same principles of action. The basic reasons for our choice should not be sought at the level of tactics, but more profoundly, where there is room for values and strong feelings. I have already expressed my conviction that a style, in which the future is built on the ruins of communist totalitarianism, is important beyond measure.

Are we ready to reconcile the eruption of mutual hatred, or are we offering a chance, and a place to everyone in a free Poland? We easily forget that not that long ago, a large part of our society felt attached to the former authority and to the old system. It is a very complicated and painful problem. Thinking about the low turnout in the June 1989 elections as well as this year's local government elections one has to remember all those who, not believing in the old order, nor wishing for it to continue, are afraid that the new Poland may have a long memory and be unable to show magnanimity. We are

decisively against a revanchist policy. We have created a peaceful opportunity for transfer to democracy, thanks to a national compromise between a Poland of independent and democratic aspirations and that part of the nation which—due to our tragic fate—has become attached, whether strongly or lightly, with conviction for convenience, to the old system. Some acknowledged the inevitability of evolution toward a sovereign and democratic Poland; others, on the other hand, were assuring us that change would have an evolutionary and peaceful character, and that it would not be accompanied by an attitude of revenge and hatred. Let us proceed further.

Without flattering anyone in the conviction that the nation values its leaders above all for the truth—this being the proof of the serious treatment of citizens and the consistent drawing of conclusions therefrom—totalitarianism is not just about **them**—it is a certain historical situation. We should all free ourselves from this through conscious effort. Manifestations of a lack of respect for the law, the expectation that it is the state that will supply, organize, and take the place of, belong to the totalitarian heritage. The heritage of totalitarianism is also the inability to differentiate the stance of a free citizen from anarchistic irresponsibility—this is the lack of recognition of authority, the tendency toward a conspiratorial view of history. This is also the inability to differentiate the privileged elites of the old regime, imposed on society and arisen through cooption, free democratically chosen representative authorities. We will not throw off the heavy burden of the last decades if we locate the sources of our failures solely outside of ourselves. We must in manly fashion, with full consciousness of the long road that is before us, recognize that although communist totalitarianism was imposed on Poland through no fault of ours, none of us will avoid, none of us will avoid paying the price for the exit from communism. From this fundamental conviction come the principle functions of my government. We can be proud of our struggle as a nation, of our unrestrained desire for freedom, and we have the right also to be proud about the style of transition to democracy, without force, without brutally manifested hostility, without acts of revenge.

This does not mean forgetting or forgiving the hurt, suffering and damage that took place in the past. This chapter in our history, which is now fortunately closed, demands a decisive moral evaluation. We are eliminating and we will continue to liquidate all remnants of the old system, but in a way that is in accord with the law. It is a natural thing that persons coresponsible for the state of the country are removed by citizens in a democratic way from positions of power, responsibility, and social prestige. In the local elections precisely such a radical exchange of cadres took place. New people have come. Society will also soon have the opportunity for a fully democratic choice of its representatives to a new parliament.

Mr. Speaker, may it please the house, for six months we have been implementing—as the first in Central Europe—a program of transition to the market economy, which will be the future of the countries of our region. In this period, hyperinflation has been liquidated, and supplies to the market have improved. We have paid the unavoidable and high price of a fall in production and in the standard of living. Let us remember, however, that this price is a transitory one, whereas the positive results will last. It is not permitted to stray from the path of a market and noninflationary economy, and the government that I direct will not stray from it. This is one of its raisons d'etre. Straying from this road threatens economic chaos, the renewed explosion of inflation, and the destruction of the Polish zloty that is today gathering strength. This would also deprive Poland of foreign assistance. It would close off the chances for the reduction of indebtedness, and we are on a good road to achieving this.

Both issues are closely associated with the question of whether we will conquer inflation and how effectively we will introduce the market economy. Straying from this road would also risk foreign investors turning away from us. They are looking at Poland with great interest, but with growing unease at the manifestations of political destabilization. They are justly convinced that destabilization threatens the current policy and can be the start of a policy of easy but merely apparent solutions. I say this to illustrate the important national reasons, not only governmental ones, that stand behind the current economic policy. I also say this as a warning against seeking easy roads to prosperity. Whoever seeks, for party or factional aims, or who directs himself by individual ambition toward demolishing the indispensible conditions for making the economy healthy, will bear on his shoulders a great burden of responsibility before the country.

Mr. Speaker, may it please the house, the government will consistently implement the basic guidelines of the chosen economic program. Commencing this program in January, however, the government announced that its review would be carried out in midyear. It also declared that if hyperinflation is conquered by that time then economic policy will be subjected to corrections according to the possibilities that arise. Such a review has been carried out, and certain possibilities have arisen. Functioning constantly in the framework of this same economic program, the government is adapting its policy for the second half year in a more supply side direction. A certain risk is attached to this, of which we are aware. An important change that has already been decided by the Council of Ministers is the revision of the budget for the second half of the year, carried out in the framework of the powers granted to the government. It rests on a transition from a budget surplus in the first half of the year to a budget deficit in the second half-year, but in such a way that the budget balance for the whole current year does not deteriorate.

In the framework of this change, the Council of Ministers has additionally withdrawn 15 billion zloties, allocating a significant part of these resources to support

territorial budgets in the area of housing, welfare aid, the health service, and agriculture—mainly the dairy sector, where the situation is especially difficult. The policy of a budget deficit—that is, a situation in which for a time the state spends more than it receives—as is known, is a policy that stimulates demand. We will be conducting such a policy for the coming months, not dropping our gaze from the danger of inflation, which has not disappeared. Another aspect of this policy is the government draft law on ameliorating the scale of taxation on over-the-norm increases in remuneration. Thanks to this, profitable enterprises will be able more readily to increase the wages fund over indexation. This should contribute to slowing down the fall in average wages and, perhaps, even to increasing them. If this takes place, then the resources allocated to wages in the budget sphere will also increase.

The recently implemented suspension of import tarriffs on 2,600 products will also counteract recession. The stimulation of imports will serve mainly to accelerate the restructuring of our economic potential. The government will soon also come forward with a draft to radically liberalize the conditions for foreign investment and for the transfer of profits, which is of key significance to foreign investors. This immeasuarably bold decisions will depend both on good results in foreign trade this year and on envisaging that the problem of indebtedness will find a satisfactory conclusion. The stimulation of the economy is also to be served by the restoration, from 1 July, of an annual interest rate. In monthly equivalent terms, it is significantly lower than it was in the first half of the year.

This is the package of the most important government decisions for the second part of the year. Despite the rise in official prices, introduced recently, they should increase the domestic market demand and thus stimulate production. As far as long-term policy is concerned, the government is continuing its intensive efforts to create new economic laws and institutions of the market economy. We are attaching great significance to a general restructuring of the economy, and especially to such important spheres as transport and telecommunications.

Privatization is a central issue. The government is prepared to initiate it and is awaiting laws on privatization to be passed early by the house. Our enterprises must have genuine owners as soon as possible. Without them they will not work efficiently. The government considers privatization not only as a venture necessary for economic efficiency, but also as an act of property enfranchisement in society. In the process of the privatization of enterprises, we will strive to create for all the citizens the most beneficial conditions, within the limits of economic common sense, for the purchase of shares, not excluding the free distribution of a proportion of them.

Agriculture, which provides work for a considerable part of the population of our country, is a very important sphere of our economy. The future of agriculture is closely connected with making the whole economy of which it is a part, more efficient, and it too must be made more efficient.

The agricultural market, like industrial markets, has become a demanding market where goods produced at a high cost cannot be sold. Agriculture, like the rest of the economy, is today facing the need to save and reduce costs. Neither the government nor I are ill-disposed toward agriculture and farmers. We understand their problems and the extraordinarily difficult situation in which agriculture finds itself today, when the old ways of supply to agriculture and of procurement of its produce have been liquidated—because they had to be liquidated—and the new ones have not yet taken shape.

This is a transitional period. It will not always be so. The government has decided—I stress this with full conviction—to create as quickly as possible a new structure of relations between agriculture and the market (?through) the appropriate intervention of the state. This requires time, though more could have been done if there had not been delays in passing the law on agricultural agency. [sounds of protest in chamber]

We want these new kinds of intervention by the state to give good farmers an indispensible feeling of certainty about supplies of the means of production necessary for them and about the sale of the products of their labor. We want to shape things in such a way that the number of good farms in Poland grows, so that their products are sought in the country and abroad. We will defend our agriculture, just as other states do. We will also support it according to the possibilities of the state. We want to develop this new structure of relations in cooperation with farmers, counting, however, on the understanding that the state has limited possibilities, and that other social groups also have many urgent needs. I appeal to the representatives of the countryside who are present in this chamber for such an understanding. Let us not fight with each other, let us talk calmly and concretely, because we are not enemies. We have at heart, after all, the good of Polish farmers, which is of the same concern to the state as is the good of all citizens. Directed by this concern, the government has recently made a decision to improve the especially harsh situation in the dairy sector, also having as its aim the reduction of the dairies' arrears in relation to farmers.

It is also the intention of the government to ensure that the procurement of agricultural crops after the harvest run its course without disruptions. The appropriate decisions are being prepared with this aim. Talks will take place with representatives of the agricultural trade unions and organizations on these matters and also on the longer-term problems of agriculture. These talks will commence tomorrow. The government would like these to be serious talks. It is open to all realistic proposals, and also to permanent cooperation with the political and professional representatives of the countryside.

The economic policy of the government is clearly laid out. In the coming months, keeping inflation in check, we will be seeking to stimulate the economy through a strictly controlled increase in demand. The main effort, however, will depend upon the stimulation of restructuring and privatization so that our economy becomes competitive and creates good products. Only these will be capable of being sold in the demanding market that will be [word indistinct].

May it please the house, the most important task of our domestic policy is the completion of the construction of a democratic, sovereign state of law. In this state, authority should have its sources solely in the will of the nation, expressed in free and unrestricted elections. So that this work can be completed, the good of the republic cannot be subservient to particular rationales or personal ambitions. There exist today in Poland all possibilities for the presentation of alternative programs, political combinations, unrestricted expressions of opinion. There also exists the possibility of protesting against the policy of the government. This is the case and this should be the case in a democratic state. It cannot, however, be powerless in the face of activities transgressing the laws of the republic, activities aimed against the authority of the state.

It cannot be powerless in the face of the blockade of public roads and transportation routes, and the occupation of state buildings. This would be the best path to the disorganization of the life in the country, which sooner or later would lead to a new dictatorship. In the course of the last two centuries, there has existed in Poland a sharp opposition between the concepts of nation and state. With short breaks, above all in the 20 years between the wars, Poles had to deal with a state that was imposed, alien, or in the best case, not fully sovereign and subservient to the rationale of a foreign ideology. For long decades we were forced to organize in opposition to the state. This bad heritage has left its traces. If today we will not understand that this state that we have—albeit still not perfect—is already ours then we will lose and we will not exploit the historical opportunity. The political disputes on the political stage unavoidably stress differences and particular rationales in a period in which all forces should concentrate on lifting Poland up. As things are taking place in this way, however, I call not so much for the blurring of differences as for the manifestation of concern and responsibility so that unavoidable disputes run their course without destroying the common good.

There are three areas which the sides struggling for power or influence should treat with the greatest responsibility for the good of the country: the security of the state, foreign policy, and also the strategy of economic transformation. The gains in these areas must not be threatened with destruction by anyone. I have said several times that the crowning of the systemic changes must be free parliamentary and presidential elections, and also a new constitution. It is a natural right of the nation. Pragmatic considerations also speak out in support of it. In times of the great changes which are taking place in our part of the world and in our country, Poland cannot afford to question the legality of legislative and executive authority.

I think that we are approaching the election trial whose date the esteemed house should name—being exclusively directed by the good of the country, the will of the nation, and respect for democracy. I have expressed the conviction that these totally democratic elections should take place, at the latest, in spring next year. Today, I am stressing the phrase, at the latest, because I think that other, earlier dates also need to be considered. I think, therefore, that we cannot afford an election campaign lasting several months. I consider as natural that in the coming elections the political formations should present, in a respectful manner and without slanders, alternative programs and their own visions of Poland. Here, I would like to declare that in such elections I am going to defend this vision of Poland and this political philosopy which received approval of the esteemed house on the day my government was created, and later confirmed. I know that this vision of Poland—a country in which everybody takes advantage of the equality of their rights, regardless of one's past and origin—a Poland, Christian in spirit and tradition, and at the same time remaining tolerant and free from all sorts of discrimination—is shared by many of my compatriots.

May it please the house, when on 12 September 1989 I put forward for the approval of the esteemed house the composition of the new government I said that it would be the first government in postwar Polish history with a nonuniform political orientation, but I also added that it would be uniform in action to lead the country out of the deep economic, social, and political crisis. I think that this is just what has happened. Although people of various political and ideological orientations entered the government, I can decisively state that all the ministers worked loyally under my leadership toward the political and economic restructuring of our country, and I thank them sincerely for this.

We are currently entering into a different stage, continuing the construction of Polish democracy. New tasks demand the implementation of changes in the composition of the government. Some members of the government, understanding this qualitatively new situation, have presented me with their resignations. At the same time, I wish to state that I do not regard that which the government has done so far as the end of the reform of the central administration. I want further changes to take place regarding the functioning of the Council of Ministers and also the role of the supreme central bodies of the state administration in the stucture of the state.

I inform the esteemed house that resignations from their posts have been submitted by: deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and the food economy, Professor Czeslaw Janicki, who directed the work of this ministry in a period of deep economic tranformations, doing this with great responsibility and engagement in matters of the countryside. Deputy Prime Minister General Czeslaw Kiszcak,

who was also internal affairs minister, has asked me to accept his resignation. During his work in this government, he carried out serious changes in the ministry directed by him, he constituted this ministry in a different way, and also carried out many personnel changes. He was simultaneously the cocreator of the changes embarked upon in our country through the roundtable deliberations. I give him my thanks for loyal and good cooperation in the framework of my government. The national defense minister, Army General Florian Siwicki, has presented his resignation. He introduced great organizational and political changes in the Army. It is again becoming an institution enjoying social authority. He was also the cocreator of the changes accompanying the entry or our country onto the road of democracy.

Over and above that, a readiness to leave the government has been announced by Communications Minister Marek Kucharski, and by Transport and Shipping Minister Franciszek Adam Wieladek, who showed the will to reform neglected areas of our economy, such as the railway, road transport, and shipping.

To all the departing ministers I give sincere thanks for good cooperation, for loyalty, and for the work that they contributed to the direction of their ministries in this difficult period of transformations.

In association with the submitted resignations, I present a resolution to recall from the composition of the Council of Ministers deputy prime minister and agriculture and the food economy minister, Czeslaw Janicki; deputy minister and internal affairs minister, Czeslaw Kiszczak; National Defense Minister Florian Siwicki; Transport and Shipping Minister Franciszek Adam Wieladek.

In connection with the submitted resignations I propose to appoint: Artur Balazs to the post of agriculture and food economy minister. Should my proposal be accepted I will also propose that he be relieved of his post of minister—member of the Council of Ministers; Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk to the post of national defense minister; Krzysztof Kozlowski to the post of internal affairs minister; Ewaryst Waligorski to the post of transport and shipping minister. Later I will put forward to the esteemed chamber my proposal to fill the post of communications minister. I ask the esteemed house that the proposed candidacies be accepted. I am ready to justify in more detail my motions to citizen deputies during the parliamentary floor groups meetings. I have been invited to attend some of them. I ask the house to assess with attention—directed by the good of the country—all those matters which I have today presented on behalf of the government to the house. Thank You. [applause]

OKP Urges Changes in Interior Ministry

LD0507223690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Gdansk shipyard workers and members of Solidarity, in a letter to Prime Minister Mazowiecki have renewed their request to him to travel to Gdansk on 8 July. Previously all OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group] deputies and senators had received such invitations. This matter was discussed by the OKP today. Group Chairman Bronislaw Geremek stated that the invitations were sent to everyone individually and everyone must themselves decide.

The planned speech by Prime Minister Mazowiecki tomorrow was also discussed. In reference to the anticipated changes in the Council of Ministers it was proposed that they affected the minister of internal affairs. Deputy Stanislaw Padykula also put forward a whole array of reservations to Minister Jacek Ambroziak.

Walesa on Mazowiecki Government, Presidency

PM0507112690 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 Jul 90 p 17

[Telephone interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by Andrea Tarquini in Warsaw; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[passage omitted] [Tarquini] Sir, what do you think Poland's priorities are? Do you support the Mazowiecki government and its program?

[Walesa] I think that the Mazowiecki government is the government of great national hope. I also think, however, that although the government's policy is going in the right direction it is not moving quickly enough and its pace leaves much to be desired. I think that the government missed a great opportunity—the dissolution at the end of January of the Communist Party, which was one of the signatories of the roundtable. I think that when the Communists in Poland decided to cease existing politically, the roundtable agreement ceased to be valid. The partner was lacking. Even in civil law if one of the parties to a contract dies, the agreement becomes invalid. That was the big mistake, because society is now in a hurry, society's impatience is also the result of the laws on private ownership which are moving too slowly. Just think, the state still controls 80 percent of the national wealth and of public property. Poland's priority now is to create a new political and social scene, to create the right conditions to ensure that nobody pays the social cost of the reforms. In view of mistakes and delays, especially in view of the economic catastrophe we are experiencing, this is certainly not easy.

[Tarquini] You said that you are ashamed of this government. Do you still think that?

[Walesa] I said that I was ashamed of this government during the fifth strike against this government in the Gdansk shipyards, where our movement started. It was a strike over which I had no control. So far the government has failed to solve the problem of the shipyards, which were closed by Rakowski's communist government for political reasons. The Communists wanted to eliminate Solidarity's roots, eliminate our symbol. I frequently

promised the workers in the shipyards that our government would quickly solve the problem of the enterprise's fate, the workers expected my promise to be kept but at that time, when that strike broke out, they had as yet had no assurance about the future from our government. I could not say anything to those people, other than confess my shame. The workers then understood that I was and am with them and because of that I ended the strike. The government ought to understand that I helped it in that way.

[Tarquini] Many people say that your ambition to become president presents the greatest danger for Poland today. What do you think is the greatest danger?

[Walesa] The worst daily experience for us is coping with the extremely harsh economic problems, life becomes more difficult here every day. The second problem is how to take Poland into the circle of countries which are full partners of Europe in economic life, to bring ourselves onto the level of the laws and mechanisms which govern the European economies. The third problem is how to create a balanced political system which gives us guarantees against any new monopoly of power by any political group. A monopoly of power could also rise from the ashes of communism.

[Tarquini] Your opponents also say that you want to be an authoritarian president and to make use of nationalism and populism. They also say that with you as president there will be no more foreign investment in Poland. What is your answer?

[Walesa] I have said several times that I do not want to be president, this is not my ambition. I think, however, that circumstances and my sense of national responsibility will carry me to that position. The problem is the model of the future presidential system in Poland. It is not a president but a parliament which will be elected in free elections (without any compromise with the Communists on the number of seats as was the case last year). This and the Constitution that will be adopted by that new parliament are the two things that will determine the president's powers. My opponents have always accused me of authoritarianism and strong inclinations toward personal power. When we fought and won against the old system, everybody saw that as the positive side of my personality, now they see it as my negative side. Explain to me why my former assets should now become my dark side? [passage omitted]

Walesa's Chances in Presidential Race Viewed

PM0307151790 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 26 May 90 p 4

[Marek Henzler article: "Breasting the Tape"]

[Text] By the end of last month you could get the impression that TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC journalists, who for some weeks had been promoting Lech Walesa as a candidate for president, had gone somewhat quiet. Walesa himself even apologized to President Jaruzelski for the aggressiveness of the antipresident campaign. Today we see that it was just a tactical delay dictated probably by Walesa's need and desire to sort out his own union backyard at the Second Solidarity Congress.

Last month's campaign made it possible to identify potential competitors in the future march on the Belweder [president's residence]. There are no serious candidates to be seen either on the side of the former left nor among the right, which is reorganizing itself anew. This leaves the center, within which, according to the Public Opinion Study Center [CBOS], Prime Minister Mazowiecki is the most likely winner if he decides to enter the race. He was named by 24 percent of those questioned. Next came Bronislaw Geremek (19 percent), third was Wojciech Jaruzelski (16.6 percent), and only then came Lech Walesa (16.1 percent). It is worth noting that in early May the major factions of the peasants movement consolidated into one party and, once the stage of internal personal conflicts is over, perhaps the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] will also propose a serious candidate.

It is almost June—a month from which, according to assurances given us by Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz, people were supposed to see an improvement in their living standard. What we see, however, is the ever increasing unemployment, recession, a smaller than promised extent of Western assistance, and a swelling wave of strikes, even in the shipyard where Walesa is chairman of the enterprise's Solidarity Trade Union. Consequently, his popularity with the public is dwindling, as is that of Solidarity itself.

These are presumably the main reasons for the "war" waged by Walesa against the government after his return from "vacation" and after the emergence of the "Center Accord" platform, which again proposed Walesa as candidate for president.

Perhaps this is one of his last chances of succeeding. There is still a "Lech Team" operating both in the Sejm and the Senate, and both the PSL and the Democratic Party [SD] work in cooperation with it, which makes Walesa's election to president by the National Assembly rather certain. In a year's time, after the next parliamentary elections, such a propitious configuration of forces is not likely to be repeated. Moreover, today, in the probable direct elections, there would be fewer votes opposed to Walesa's candidacy than in a year or two, when Lech Walesa's historic service to the cause of fighting and overthrowing the old system may be overshadowed by the dull realities of our daily life—far removed from the early promises—even more than they are today.

This maneuver of breasting the tape can even succeed. But the question then arises: What next? Will it end up again in the form of mere personnel changes at top cabinet level, our having to tighten the belt one more notch again, and an "acceleration" achieved by means of those extraordinary decrees which the Union's Chairman has been mentioning

so often recently? This could denote the real end of the nascent Polish pluralism and democracy, although both Lech Walesa and Center Accord signatories predict an altogether different scenario.

'Polish Watergate' Documents Discussed

LD0507165790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Interview with OPINIA Editor in Chief Krzysztof Krol by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] These documents have become the cause of a Polish Watergate affair. The documents were published by the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN]. Krzysztof Krol, editor in chief of the weekly OPINIA is in the studio. The documents aroused the interests of the public as well as the interested parties, in other words the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW]?

[Krol] Yes. Yesterday Colonel (Garstka) from the MSW visited me at the paper's office, and he scrupulously wrote down the reference numbers of these documents and the contents of some of them and said that he is going to check their authenticity. Personally I am certain that the documents are authentic.

[Reporter] They all come from the period between August and November last year. Does that mean that after November the secret informer who gave them to you stopped working in the ministry?

[Krol] No. We have considerably more of these documents than we have published. We are going to publish them in succession. Only two kinds of documents will not be published—that is, those which could currently cause political turmoil and concern the present government, and those which could damage the Polish state.

[Reporter] How do you mean?

[Krol] For example, an intelligence document from Washington saying that agent 007 is informing about some kind of activity.

[Reporter] This means you are planning further publication?

[Krol] Yes. We are planning the publication of the next documents when the persons who signed those documents, who knew about these documents, are removed from their posts.

[Reporter] We can read most material about these documents in the weekly OPINIA?

[Krol] Yes. On the first page there is the document which talks about the MSW's surveillance of Mazowiecki's government, then there is the document testifying to cooperation between the KGB and MSW, also during the tenure of Mazowiecki's Government, and the Nomenklatura list from Starogard Gdanski. [passage omitted on responsibility of journalists to publish this type of information]

Government Spokeswoman Gives News Conference

LD0507214390 Warsaw PAP in English 1537 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Spokeswoman-Conference, Warsaw"—PAP headline]

[Text] [Dateline not received]

Poland-State of Law

Commenting on Government activities in light of the situation in Poland, Niezabitowska said that it is impossible in a few months to change something that was constructed completely incorrectly for 45 years.

She also stressed that all Government activities are carried out on a peaceful road. This is the essence of its functioning, but the Government expects everyone to observe basic legal norms. For that reason it cannot tolerate, for example, blockades of roads or occupation of buildings of state administration, said she.

Skubiszewski at Two-Plus-Four Talks

Niezabitowska said that Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski will be able to express opinion not only on the Polish-German border, but on all issues related to Poland's interests during the Two-Plus-Four negotiations to start on July 17. This has been agreed by the Polish side with participants in the talks during recent preparations for the meeting.

Before Exhumation of Graves of Polish Officers in USSR

Niezabitowska said that so far Poland has not received any answer to her numerous motions sent to the Soviet Foreign Ministry to make it possible for of a Polish delegation to come to Kharkov and mednoe where more graves of Polish officers murdered in the USSR during World War II have been found.

The spokeswoman expressed hope that a positive answering would arrive soon as the exhumation of these graves has been scheduled by Soviet local authorities for July 20-30.

Difficulties at Border Crossings with USSR

Unfortunately, the situation at border crossings with the USSR, where travellers have to wait several dozen hours in very bad conditions for passport and customs control, has not changed.

Niezabitowska said that on the initiative of Poland's Foreign Ministry, Polish-Soviet consultations will be held in Przemysl and Lvov in the next few days. In the

long run, Poland's Foreign Ministry wants to renegotiate with the Soviet side an agreement on travel of citizens of the two countries.

Albanian Refugees in Poland's Embassy in Tirana

The fate of 40 persons seeking refugee in the Polish Embassy in Tirna depends on Polish-Albanian negotiations currently under way. All of them have asked for asylum. The negotiations concern ensuring security to these people during their possible departure from Albania.

Correction of Budget

While commenting on the changes in the budget adopted by the Government on June 29, Undersecretary at the Ministry of Finance Wojciech Misiag said that they consist in channelling extra money to these spheres where financial shortages are most acute, this is housing, agriculture and local budgets, including self-governments.

Nothing New in Mazowiecki-Walesa Dialogue

Niezabitowska said that the letters of the premier to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and shipyard workers from Gdansk who have invited Tadeusz Mazowiecki for a meeting are binding and she had nothing more to say on the subject.

Chances of Road Blockade

Asked about farmers' threats to block roads if the Government refuses to introduce minimum Guaranteed procurement prices, Niezabitowska said that law must be observed in the state.

"If blockade were to take place, proper steps would be undertaken to counteract it," she said.

Is Government Anti-Peasant?

Niezabitowska denied allegations as to the "anti-peasant" character of the government. She admitted, however, that no full programme of changes in agriculture has been created yet. This is related to the proposed resignation of Vice-Premier and Minister of Agriculture Czeslaw Janicki from his post.

If the demand to introduce minimum guaranteed prices were met, the balance of the state budget would collapse, Neizabitowska said and added that the operation would require 4-5 trillion zlotys in subsidies and this, in turn, would lead to drastic price rises of food.

Government Under Interior Ministry's Surveillance (Q)

Secret reports by special services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW) on the sitution during the creation of a new coalition and Mazowiecki's government, revealed by KPN weekly "OPINIA", are now being tested for authenticity, Malgorzata Neizabitowska said and added that in principle, they concerned "routine" activities of these services.

It is also being checked how the materials leaked. They are by no means a proof that members of the government were under surveillance, she said. Today, it is a different ministry which has undergone substantial institutional and personal changes.

Chances In Police

Niezabitowska said that in effect of activities of a commission at the main police headquarters, including among others, trade unionists, 49 new voivodship police commandants were nominated, the structure of the main headquarters wa changed while the decisions concerning the text of the oath, police ranks, organization of local police headquarters and police stations and ordinances as to the rules of using weapon and physical force are in the final stage of eleboration.

Other Issues

Niezabitowska said also that under investigation is the private firm from Czestochowa in connection with allegations that it intermediated in drafting Poles for mercenaries to the Republic of South Africa.

Niezabitowska said also she hoped she would remain a government spokesman.

Government Rules Out Guaranteed Farm Prices

LD0407203490 Warsaw PAP in English 1701 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July—The government economic programme does not forsee the application of minimum guaranteed prices for agricultural products, Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Michal Wojtczak told PAP.

By introducing such prices, the government by its authority, or through selected enterprises, would guarantee farmers, that a concrete product would not only be procured but also that would be bought at a fixed price. Such solution would rule out a liberal market towards which Poland is aiming.

The introduction of guaranteed prices would mean the need to introduce deep changes in budget expenditures. We are aware of the difficult economic situation of all social groups in Poland. That is why it is unfair to take away from one and give to another.

The printing of empty money is out of the question for it would waste the already achieved effects in the stabilization of market. It would also once again increase inflation and prices. There is still a possibility to draw "consumption" credits, but this solution was applied in the 1970 [as received] and negative effects of that policy are burdening our economy till this day, said the deputy minister.

Stabilization of the agricultural market should not be achieved owing to minimum guaranteed prices, but through defined relations between procurement prices and prices for means of production.

The agricultural branch should also receive assistance in tune with market economy, in form of appropriate credits, bonuses for means of production, appropriate tax system and other forms of intervention activities, said Deputy Minister Wojtczak.

Farming Circles To Meet Government 7 Jul

LD0507163190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Main Council of the National Union of Farmers and Farming Circles and Organizations have accepted the proposal of talks with the Government on 7 July.

MON, MWS Deny Terrorists Trained in Poland

LD0407205490 Warsaw PAP in English 1806 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 4—Representatives of the Polish Ministries of National Defence (MON) and of Internal Affairs (MSW) denied reports of foreign press that allegedly international terrorists had been trained in Poland. However, today's evening daily "EXPRESS WIECZORNY" quotes information of its reader who told the daily about MON'S secret training centre located in the village of Stare Kiejkuty in the Mazurian lake district.

In a direct talk with the daily, Col. Tadeusz Przychodzien from the Ministry of National Defence said that the center had been used for training officers of befriended armies but added that the ministry's staff department had not checked the records of foreigners sent there.

"We relied on information of the side sending people for training. Foreign officers were trained for concrete skills such as tankmen, sappers, general-military experts," Przychodzien told the daily.

The press spokesman for MSW, Col. Wojciech Garstka confirmed the information about the secret training centre in Kiejkuty but added that no foreigner had ever been trained there.

"After the talks with top officials of the ministry of Internal Affairs I rule out that terrorists could have been trained by our ministry. We convey to the EXPRESS WIECZORNY daily a full list of our agreements concerning international exchange," he said.

Col. Garstka said that only officers of Polish intelligence services had been trained there. The top MSW officials confirmed Garstka's statement, the EXPRESS WIECZORNY wrote.

Jaruzelski on Importance of Zgorzelec Treaty

LD0507222290 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—Here is what Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski said in part on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Zgorzelec Treaty:

Today, one should remember that the German Democratic Republic was the first German state to recognize without reservations the Polish western and northern border. I think that it lies in the interest of the Poles and Germans to preserve all the values shaped owing to the relations between Poland and the GDR, owing to their cooperation in so many a field.

The recently adopted resolutions by the two German parliaments are an important premise for building good-neighbourly relations between Poland and Germany. The confirmation of those resolutions by a treaty and constructive cooperation are an indispensible condition for security and peace in Europe.

We believe that the lasting and genuine reconciliation between the Poles and Germans, the two neighbouring nations in the heart of Europe, lies in their interest and in this of all Europeans.

Mazowiecki, Austria's Vranitzky Discuss Relations

LD0507191290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Report on statements by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Prime Minister Mazowiecki; place and date not given—Vranitzky recorded in German with superimposed translation into Polish]

[Text] Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky has arrived for a two-day, official visit to Warsaw. In a face to face meeting with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, political development in Europe was assessed, and especially in the central part of our continent. The Polish and Austrian desire to intensify economic cooperation and widen its forms was stressed. The point especially is to support cooperation and contacts between particular firms and also joint work on concrete projects and problems.

[Begin recording] [Vranitzky] In the (?well-known) situation that your finances have found themselves in, Austria is ready to continue to grant Poland wide-ranging assistance. This relates both to bilateral relations as also the questions agreed at international forums, and the details of which still demand regulation. On the other hand, we still have not spoken on the subject of matters relating to the freedom of travel and visa questions.

[Mazowiecki] Chancellor Vranitzky, whose visit I value greatly, comes out to meet us through all his reasoning and evaluation of the situation in Europe. I judge that he understands very well the fact that the drawing together of Europe is today no longer a problem of the political divisions of Europe, but above all of the economic

division, and that the real creation of a new Europe, a new European order, and the support of our democracy in the countries of Central and East Europe depends on the overcoming of this division. [end recording]

The chancellor also carried on talks in parliament and was received by the president. Wojciech Jaruzelski thanked him for Austrian economic aid. The possibilities of the economic association of Poland with the states of the Central and South of Europe were discussed.

Vranitzky Views Cooperation

LD0507220890 Warsaw PAP in English
2040 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Excerpts" of banquet speech by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in Warsaw on 5 July]

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—Important and deep changes have been made since I was last time in Poland and in Central Europe. The workers and intelligentsia have united in solidarity to fight for freedom and democracy. Upon this strong basis supported by the will of major part of the nation, Poland—on the road of a peaceful revolution - has returned to democracy and common European values. She has also given important impulses to overcoming totalitarianism and to a democratic opening in other states of this region.

What you are facing now is a great work of reforms, work to consolidate democracy and the democratic legal order, to boldly reform the economic system. And this is linked with many hardships.

You and your government have gone along a considerable part of this road. The entire Austria is observing these achievements with great respect and admiration. The successes scored over the recent months have shown that Poland wants and can handle the reform. Of course, what is needed is assistance from outside and I assure you that Austria is ready to provide such assistance according to her possibilities.

The recent months saw the starting of many concrete steps and moves which we discussed this afternoon. While taking those moves, Austria is guided by the conviction that a political and economic turn in this part of Europe constitutes a challenge addressed to all European countries. Only by way of joint efforts we will be able to achieve the target of a really United Europe.

The creation of an all-European security system is an urgent need at present following political transformations in Central Europe and a violent process of Germany's unification. We do appreciate and we share Poland's vital interest in the issue. I believe that within the CSCE—where such a system must be anchored—there are many possibilities for cooperation between Austria and Poland, and we must use these possibilities.

Mazowiecki on Return to Europe

LD0507221790 Warsaw PAP in English
2110 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Excerpts" of banquet speech by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Warsaw on 5 July]

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—Austria is friendly with Poland, the Poles know that and appreciate that. A concrete sign of this friendship is our well developing economic cooperation. The recent period also brought the growth of mutual trade turnover.

We are especially glad that Poland was granted custom preferences. The Austrian side manifests its friendship also by understanding our problems linked with our turn to democratic and market system in the circumstances of the economic crisis.

We positively assess the opening of new guarantees in Austria for investments in Poland, for instance the East-West fund initiated personally by Mr Chancellor.

Austria's openness to Poland is a special sign of this friendship. We know very well that the visa-free traffic is linked with certain inconveniences for the Ausrian side. We are trying to eliminate them. Let us remember that such traffic offers a valuable and needed feeling of freedom. And the freedom of travelling to Austria is also to Poles an evident sign of their belonging to Europe. And one of main targets of the system transformations we have been carrying out over recent months is our complete comeback to Europe. It is certain that our cooperation with Austria may make this road easier.

In this context, I would like to thank Mr Chancellor for his interest and support for our proposal to set up a Council of European cooperation. Europe has always been not only the Europe of homelands but also a continent of certain communities that linked countries of a given region with closer ties of cooperation. You and I can do a lot for this cooperation.

Iliescu Presents Resignation as NSF Chief

AU0507204090 Bucharest Domestic Serice in Romanian 1900 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] A meeting of the Steering Collegium of the National Salvation Front [NSF] concluded two hours ago. At this meeting, Mr. Ion Iliescu presented his resignation from the position as NSF president.

In his speech, Mr. Ion Iliescu referred, among other things, to the fact that the key problem for the NSF is to ensure a good organizational structure, which should consolidate the NSF roots amid the masses and ensure strong and constant links with the categories of people who supported the platform ideas of this political group. Mr. Ion Iliescu said that the activity of the NSF parliamentary faction is very important, as that faction is dutybound to lend active and substantial support to the efforts to improve legislation and promote economic reform, thus sanctioning the fundamental idea that the elected ones are the servants of the citizenry.

The floor was then taken by Prime Minister Petre Roman, who said that it is vital to reform the NSF structures and establish mutual links between the government and the political formation.

Roman Chairs Government Economic Reform Meeting

AU0507120090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1053 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—Romania's new cabinet met Thursday [5 July] in its first plenary session under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Its agenda includes an analysis of the situation of the various spheres of the economy and the measures planned for the settlement of the serious problems confronting the country, as well as the government action to implement the measures announced in programme to reform the economy and start privatising some of its sectors.

Deputies Assembly 4 Jul Proceedings

AU0407144190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0923 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—The Assembly of Deputies resumed works in plenum Wednesday [4 July] morning. The 337 deputies present continued debating the programme-declaration the new government forwarded to the parliament last week. Referring to this important document 25 deputies took the floor yesterday. Another 15 deputies are on today's list to set forth their opinions. Upon the proposal of the Assembly's speaker, Mr. Dan Martian, the deputies voted with an overwhelming majority for the cessation of discussions on the government's programme.

Today too, the Assembly of Deputies is to start debating the bill of local administrative organization which should remain in force till the election of the local power bodies.

Passes Administration Law

AU0507181290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1422 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—In Thursday [5 July] the Assembly of Deputies adopted the law of the administration of counties, cities, towns and communes, which is valid for the current period of transition until the calling of elections on that level, too.

According to the new law, the national unity councils, created provisionally in administrative-territorial units, stop their activity and are replaced by prefect's and mayor's offices, as local bodies of state administration with general competence. According to this law, they solve questions related to the economic and social development of administrative-territorial units, see to the observance of the legal framework of economic activities and ensure the administration of the budget and the resolution of urban issues and questions in other areas under their competence.

The proceedings of the Assembly of Deputies also adopted the law of the budget of Romania's parliament.

Before the end of the proceedings, the Assembly of Deputies approved the text of the oath taken by Mr. Ion Iliescu when he was inaugurated as Romania's president, a text initially adopted only by the standing bureaus of the two chambers.

Discusses Nation's Image in Europe

AU0507164290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Parliamentary Agenda—European Reverberations in Romania's Senate"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—The idea vehiculated in Western countries that Romania has never known democracy and it needs another forty years to learn it should be eradicated from the Western public opinion, stated Mr. Radu Campeanu, vice-president of Romania's Senate, in the debates held in that chamber of Romania's parliament on a report presented by the Romanian parliamentary delegation which had participated in the Innsbruck session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. I think it is our duty, the duty of all of us who can intervene for changing this vision, this wrong impression, the speaker underscored, considering that invitations to visit Romania should be extended to delegations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and of that in Strassbourg to make acquaintance with the realities. At the same time he proposed mutual visits at the level of parliamentary delegations.

Another vice-president of the senate, Mr. Karoly Kiraly, referred to the good understanding and cooperation in the country's senate between the parliamentary groups of various orientations which positively influenced the atmosphere in the Romanian society. No matter our nationality, we all are the sons of this motherland, we consider ourselves

and want to be considered equal and with equal rights, but also with equal responsibilities, with equal contributions to what we should create and accomplish.

The Hungarian minority in Romania does not want any kind of separation—be it of internal or external form. As is known, the MDUR [Magyar Democratic Union of Romania] made a statement on the lack of understanding of Hungary's parliament in connection with the rights of the Romanian minority in Hungary.

I am personally satisfied with the explanation given by our delegate to Innsbruck, senator Mihai Iacobescu said. I propose that the activity of our parliamentary and governmental delegation be reflected in our press so that the public may learn we are concerned with these questions. Today we have no longer any kind of network to inform the European public about what is happening in Romania and a series of willing or unwilling people inform Europe about what is happening in our country.

This first contact of Romania's parliament with Western Europe, senator Adrian Motiu said, showed us that we are confronted with a disinformation action consistently practiced against our country. He suggested that a senatorial group be formed to find the practical modalities to counteract those disinformation actions which prejudice not only Romania but the whole Europe. We do not enter Europe only now, the speaker added, we have always defended Europe's gates. And if the West is now at the level it is, this is owing to our presence here.

Referring to the minorities' question, the senator underscored that we have agreed that all of them preserve their language, develop their culture because we understand that who settled beside us should live in peace. We want the minorities in our country be our equals.

The president of the senate, Alexandru Birladeanu, ensured that the proposals made by the representatives of the Council of Europe through the Romanian parliamentary delegation would be attentively examined by the senate and they were to be submitted to the Assembly of Deputies for approval, too.

Showing that the propaganda in the country's interest made only officially proved inefficient, the president of the senate declared for exchanges of experience at various levels, also between artists, students, journalists, and so forth. We are part of Europe, he stated. The political path we chose after the revolution is without return. There is only one way to return to Europe to tell the truth and the partners to be willing to hear the truth and not distorted news. I think that Europe should wish, too, Romania's return in its community.

Government Debates Salaries, Nuclear Power Plant

AU0507200890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1839 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—Romania's government held its first meeting on July 5 under the chairmanship of Mr. Petre Roman.

Its agenda included a report on the state of production, on incomes and spending in the third trimester of 1990, a programme for a reform of prices and the ways to liberalize prices and a draft resolution on the approval of the technical-economic stage of the nuclear power plant project at Cernavoda.

Draft measures were discussed intended to achieve the best possible correlation between the effective implementation of production programmes and the level of pay. The fact was noted that several enterprises and areas of activity had not attained the planned production quotas, which might cause a disbalance in the economy as a whole. At the same time, the pays of late did not reflect the lack of fulfilments, the lower productivity and the higher production costs.

The government considers that the economic units should find solutions for a fundamental resolution of that problem so that pays should be strictly related to the amount of work done. The economy can no longer afford to pay for undone work. Until the pay fund is created on the level of enterprises and on the basis of the financial results of their activities, the banks will release the amounts of money needed to pay the employees according to the level of achievement of production programmes, dimensioned according to the enterprises' own estimations.

The government will take all the measures within its competence to prolong the application of the decision concerning a 50-per cent pay of the individuals for whom a working front can no longer be ensured until the adoption of a corresponding law.

The minister of finance, Mr. Theodor Stolojan, read a report on the reform of wholesale prices and the ways to materialize the price-liberalization programme. It was agreed that that target was essential within the strategy for the achievement of the market economy in Romania. The government requested the minister of finance to expand and detail that study in consideration of both the need to ensure a proper social protection in the transition period and to free the economy from the perturbing effects of a price policy planned in a centralized manner. In this area, too, in the near future the government will promote bills meant to provide a natural framework for the dynamic growth of the economy in the transition period.

Examining the stage of the construction works on the nuclear power plant at Cernavoda, the government was informed of the causes behind the delays in the construction-assembly activity as well as of the consequences of the application of technologies, which led to violation of quality standards.

With a view to ensuring the observance of the planned term for the commissioning of the five units of the plant, the government approved a programme for the continuation of investment and the expansion of cooperation with Canadian experts.

At the end of the meeting aspects related to the reorganization of ministries were examined.

Private Foreign Trade Companies Established

AU0507182890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1654 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—More than 1,800 private foreign-trade companies were created in Romania, which is an argument showing that state monopoly in foreign trade is a matter of history now, privatization having opened the gates to the market economy in this area, too. The activity of these companies is a viable alternative to the elimination of this monopoly, which acts as a brake to the development of economic and commercial relations. Referring to the activity of one such company—the "Romanian Trade Promotion" (RTP)—its executive manager, Mr. Marius Oprean said the company performed import-export operations and services, granted specialized assistance in projects containing "trade" activities, including the creation of joint companies between Romanian state and private enterprises and foreign partners and ensured commercial operations of a loan, switch, barter and ship handling type. There is a wide range of services, typical of such an activity. Foreign customers prefer this kind of private enterprises to the state ones, are less efficient. A proof in this respect is the fact that last week alone, the RTP had contacts with ten foreign companies, concluding important transactions. So, for instance, companies in France, China, Israel, the Netherlands, West Germany will open stores in Romania with commodities sold for lei. The RTP committed itself to that action identifying the Romanian products which are of interest to foreign companies to that, with the lei cashed in their own stores, they may buy them and export them to various countries. Soon, the company will purchase 20 stores in Bucharest and other localities, where various commodities, foodstuffs of the hotdog and hamburger-type included, will be put on sale. This is a promising beginning, which is expected to be expanded and encouraged by the changes in a number of laws, which Romania's parliament contemplates at present.

Further Coverage of Crisis Within NLP

AU0507195990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Political Life—On the Dissension Within the NLP"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—In a statement to the "ROMPRES" news agency on July 6, 26 out of the 34 editorial and technical staff of the newspaper "VIITORUL" express their solidarity with Mr. Gelu Netea, the director of the paper, and condemn "firmly the abusive decision made by the National Liberal Party [NLP] leadership to expel him from the party and dismiss him from the office of director" of the aforesaid publication.

Announcing that, under the circumstances, the editorial staff of "VIITORUL" are compelled to carry on their activity without headquarters and technical means, the authors of the statement appeal to their colleagues, no matter their political beliefs, urging them to give them the possibility to edit their articles until their newspaper is officially brought out again.

A new communique sent to "ROMPRES" by the NLP executive secretariat shows that the emergence of the NLP youth wing does not mean scission.

Showing that "the organization of the NLP was set on nondemocratic bases and the party's first national conference could not discuss the fundamental problems related to its creation as a modern forum for discussion and conveyance of liberalism," the authors of the communique say they decided to submit for debate to the NLP members and sympathizers "the authoritarianism and the non- democratic spirit of the current NLP leadership, which was monopolized by a restricted group, unlinked to contemporary Romanian realities, certain political decisions, which led to loss of NLP prestige and to the discreditation of liberal ideas; the claims and the lack of a sense of realism as to the mass of former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] members; the making of lists of candidates according to criteria having to do with personal relations, etc.

The communique also shows that the recently-created Initiative Committee for the Reform of the NLP aims at calling a party national conference to discuss "a democratic statute, a realistic and coherent programme, and the election of the party's leading bodies on democratic bases."

Constanta Transportation Workers Begin Strike

AU0507194990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1811 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—In the morning of July 4 the workers at the County Transports Enterprise in Constanta the large Romanian harbour at the Black Sea called a general strike.

The strikers demand spare parts, tires, other parts necessary for a good functioning of the vehicles as well as an increase in the tickets' cost because of the deficit, worth 5 million lei, the Constanta transport enterprise has had since the beginning of the year.

The dialogue between the trade union leaders and the local authorities has not yet resulted in a cease of the strike.

Serbian Authorites Reacting to Kosovo Declaration

Kosovo Assembly Suspended

LD0507122490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Under the law on the dissolution of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and its Executive Council, adopted today by all three chambers of the Serbian Assembly, the rights and the duties of the provincial assembly and its government are being taken over by the organs of the Republic of Serbia until a new Assembly and Executive Council of Kosovo are constituted.

Under the same decision and law, all the laws passed by the Assembly and the Executive Council [? of Kosovo], after the Serbian Assembly law comes into effect, are invalid.

The law empowers the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to decide on the way in which the functions of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are to be taken over. It is also empowered to take other measures necessary to enforce the law.

Executive Council Meets

AU0507210290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina on the Executive Council of Serbia's meeting—live or recorded]

[Text] The republican government analyzed the situation after the cessation of the work of the Kosovo Assembly and the provincial Executive Council. It was stated that the measures that were adopted today by the Serbian Assembly have been implemented efficiently. The transfer of powers from the provincial to the republican organs was carried out without any particular problems and, as stated, organizational work is now under way which will ensure that the republican organs function unhindered in Kosovo.

All scientific, educational, cultural, and information institutions and enterprises in the province will continue their normal work because, as was said, they are an irreplaceable condition of the life of all citizens in Kosovo. Readiness was confirmed that the republican organs will ensure order, work, and peace and conditions for the normal life of all citizens in the province.

Stanko Radmilovic, president of the republican Executive Council, said that peace now reigns in Kosovo. We want it to remain like this, he stressed, because there is no reason for euphoria. The state of Serbia promised that it will protect its integrity and it has done this. There is no reason to fear that the province will be deprived of its autonomy and the Albanians deprived of their rights. Only the organs that tried to undermine the integrity of their state of Serbia have been dissolved, Stanko Radmilovic, president of the republican government said. He warned that Albanians have so far been able to see where the separatists have been leading them. Serbia will protect its own integrity and the equality of all its citizens.

Radmilovic appealed to citizens to preserve order and peace and prevent any possible undesirable occurrences.

Republican Secretary for Internal Affairs Radmilo Bogdanovic stressed that the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs had taken over all tasks in Kosovo. A number of militiamen do not want to join the special units of the republican Secretariat, but this problem will be quickly resolved or they will be dismissed from their jobs.

A large number of Albanians are involved in the militia units, Albanians who want to perform the tasks of the republican militia. Bogdanovic stressed that there had been no incidents whatsoever in the province today.

Momcilo Trajkovic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council, said that everyone in Kosovo had impatiently been waiting to see what the state of Serbia would do. By what it did today, Serbia has told the separatists that there is no joking with its integrity. This move gives hope to all honest people that the problem of Kosovo will finally be settled. There had been some problems in taking control over major media institutions, but this shows that this is where the core of separatism lies, Trajkovic said.

It was said that the provincial secretaries for finance and education, Sefcet Cana and Muhamed Bicaj, did not [word indistinct] to surrender their duties but they did so later on. There had been no problems in the Secretariats for the Legislature, Judiciary, and Economy, and it was said that the work in these provincial organs will be completely normalized by Monday [9 July].

Kosovo Assembly's Work Assumed

LD0507223990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—The measures adopted today by the Serbian Assembly on the takeover of work of the Kosovo Assembly and its executive council are being effectively implemented by republican bodies. With no particular problems, the takeover of duties between provincial and republican bodies was carried out and organizational work is under way which will secure undisturbed functioning of these bodies in Kosovo.

This was stated at a session of the Serbian Assembly Executive Council held in Pristina this evening, presided over by Dr. Stanko Radmilovic. The session examined the current situation in the province and information on the taking over of functions and duties of provincial

bodies by competent republican bodies. Reports on this were submitted by republican secretaries who carried out these tasks personally.

Republican Secretary for Internal Affairs Radmilo Bogdanovic said that there had been no incidents in Kosovo today nor any violations of public peace and order, except certain resistance during the takeover of certain functions from leaders in assorted institutions.

It was stated that certain problems arose while implementing these measures in the mass media, specially at Pristina TV and RILINDJA, as well as in the Secretariat for Education, Science and Culture. Provincial secretary for this portfolio, Dr. Muhamet Bicaj refused to sign the note on the takeover of duties by the republican secretary. Bicaj refused to leave the post, explaining that he can only be replaced by the one who appointed him, that is, the Kosovo Assembly. [passage omitted]

Winding up the session, Dr. Stanko Radmilovic, president of the Serbian Executive Council, expressed hope that peace and order will continue to reign in Kosovo, as was the case today during the takeover of duties from the provincial Assembly and its Executive Council.

We would like things to remain this way, there is no reason for euphoria. Serbia did what it had announced it would do. The Albanians have no reason to fear that these measures will strip them of their rights and allegedly abolish their autonomy. Those measures only mean that the organs which manifested separatism and threatened Serbia's integrity have been dissolved. The Albanians can now see for themsleves where Albanian nationalists and separatists were leading them, and also see that we have given timely notice that their aims are unattainable. The state of Serbia knows what it wants, and that is the preservation of its own integrity, said Radmilovic, appealing to the citizens of Kosovo to preserve peace and order, and prevent any unwanted incidents.

Government 'Dissolved'

AU0507174290 Paris AFP in English 1726 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 5 Jul (AFP)—The Serbian parliament on Thursday [5 July] dissolved the parliament and the government of the province of Kosovo, officials said here in Kosovo's capital.

"This decision is illegitimate," and "we will not respect it," Democratic Union of Kosovo secretary Jusuf Buxhovi told AFP Thursday. The Democratic Union, the most powerful ethnic Albanian opposition party, counts more than 700,000 members out of a population of two million. Mr. Buxhovi said, however, that that "there is no reason to get upset," and emphasized that the Democratic Union would call on the population not to demonstrate in the streets, so as to avoid a Serbian crackdown.

The streets of Pristina were calm Thursday following the decree, and the only noticeable sign of tension was an apparent increase in police helicopter patrols above the city.

The decree also provided for Serbian authorities to take control of transmitters, communications systems and the Albanian language newspapers Rilindja and Zeri i Rinis. [passage omitted]

Area 'Devoid of Official Authorities'

AU0507151190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Special correspondent Marjan Drobez report from Pristina—live or recorded]

[Text] The Kosovo Assembly convened today in a previously announced session, but it only met so that the delegates of the Serbian, Montenegrin, Muslim, and Turkish nationality could support the decisions on the dissolution of the Kosovo representative and other bodies and denounce the declaration adopted by ethnic Albanian delegates a few days ago. The document adopted in the square in front of the Assembly building at that time—the ethnic Albanian delegates were locked out of the building—in essence demanded or decided that Kosovo should become a republic.

Today the adherents of the official Serbian policy at the assembly session sharply denounced the conduct and standards of the Albanian delegates and adopted their own declaration in support of the decisions to dissolve the parliament, the Executive Council, and the provincial administrative organs.

The ethnic Albanian delegates boycotted today's Assembly session. Kosovo is devoid of official authorities at the moment. It is asserted that power will be taken over in the coming hours by the state of Serbia through its plenipotentiary officials who will come from Belgrade, or through appointments that the Serbian Executive Council will make at the provincial level.

The first consequence of the events today is the establishment of a complete national division. The bodies, parties, or alternative movements of the Albanians enjoy full support of the majority Albanian population. The process of national homogenization has reached its culmination.

Immediately after the Belgrade decisions were announced, a fierce campaign against Albanian political personalities started. Pristina Radio in its Serbo-Croatian casts carries demands from gatherings at which Serbs and Montenegrins demand that certain Albanian representatives be tried for alleged high treason. The gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins held in Kosovo demand that Riza Sapundziju, member of the SFRY Presidency, an ethnic Albanian from Kosovo, also be charged with high treason.

Law on Media Rights Adopted

LD0507121990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—A law terminating the work of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and its Executive Council was adopted today by delegates of the Assembly of Serbia at the joint session of all three chambers. At the same time, a decision was passed to take temporary measures for protecting self-managing rights and socially owned property in the Pristina Radio and Television composite organization of associated labor and Pristina Television and Radio work organizations, as well as in the Transmitters and Communications Work Organization. Under another decision, temporary measures are also being introduced in the Rilindja composite organizations and in the "RILINDJA" and "ZERI I RINIS" newspapers. The third decision providing for temporary measures, also adopted today, refers to the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines near Pristina.

Militia Enters Media Buildings

AU0507185090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] After several months of Albanian delegates being openly made use of by the separatist movement and after the events in front of the building of the provincial Assembly, the republic of Serbia has taken over administrative and executive power in its southern province. Zoran Trajic reports from Pristina:

[Trajic] Measures are being implemented in the province of Kosovo on the basis of the Law on the Activities of Serbian Organs in Special Conditions. The offices of the president of the provincial government and ministers were officially sealed this afternoon and their work was taken over by the responsible organs of the republic of Serbia.

The militia entered the building of Radio and Television Pristina and the editorial offices of the RILINDJA newspaper just after 1500 [1300 GMT]. New managers of the media in the province of Kosovo have been appointed. The acting director general of Radio and Television Pristina is Ramiz Kurtesi, the director of television is Becir Hoti, and the chief editor of Pristina Radio is (Abdurahman Hodza). The director of communications and broadcasts is Miodrag Redzic and the director and chief editor of RILINDJA are Gani Jasari and Hilmi Sulja.

The original workers and employees, who have been the most vociferous champions of Albanian separatism particularly over the last few months, were told on this occasion that they should get in touch with directors and chief editors for notice on the continuation of their work .

We have unofficially learned that at the moment when militia forces entered the buildings of Pristina Radio and the local radio station in Djakovica, announcements had already been prepared calling on Albanians to gather and wage an armed struggle. However, these calls were not broadcast.

In Pristina, it is obvious according to the reports that have constantly been reaching the Belgrade Radio office that the whole province is peaceful. That would be an overview of a Kosovo day, the first on which the state of Serbia has shown that it is impossible geographically and politically for two states to exist on one and the same territory.

New Heads at RILINDJA Appointed

LD0507172390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1143 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—The daily RILINDJA Director General Bajram Gasi has been replaced, and Gani Jasari is appointed its new director general. Its chief editor Nazmi Misini has also been replaced, and Hilmi Sulja is appointed its new chief editor.

Numerous Media Chiefs Replaced

LD0507151990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1429 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—The Parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia replaced today Dr Agim Malja from the post of general director of Pristina Radio and Television (RTP), in the province of Kosovo.

Malja was replaced by Ramiz Kurtesi, until now an editor in Belgrade Television.

Also replaced were Director of Pristina Television Arif Osmani and RTP Transmitters and links Director Kolj Ljumezi.

The new Pristina Television head is Becir Hoti, hitherto editor in chief of the leading Albanian-language daily Rilindija.

The new head of the RTP Transmitters and Links Department is Miodrag Redzic.

Numerous RTP editors have also been replaced.

The Serbian Parliament also imposed special measures in the daily ORILINDIJA and ZERI I RINIS, a youth newspaper.

Special measures were also introduced in two large Kosovo mines—Kisnica and Novo Brdo.

New TV 'Measures' Enacted

LD0507171890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's meeting of Serbian, Montenegrin and Muslim employees of Pristina TV, support was voiced for the decision of the Serbian

Assembly on the introduction of temporary measures in this TV center. The employees also appealed to the Serbian Assembly to take over the founders' rights and prepare grounds for turning the program in Serbo-Croatian into an independent enterprise.

They also condemned yesterday's "crude attempt at interfering in the editorial policy of this program by Albanian cameramen of Pristina TV." This was, in their view, yet another in the series of attacks on this program in an attempt to prevent their positions from being made public.

Security Measures 'Stepped Up'

LD0507173190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Security measures were visibly stepped up this afternoon at Pristina Radio and Television, and at the Pristina press center which houses the 'RILINDJA' newspaper publishing organization.

The presence of policemen is noticeable outside these information institutions.

Radio and TV broadcasts have been temporarily suspended.

All this has been interpreted as being within the framework of implementing the decision of the Serbian Assembly to introduce temporary measures in these information media and to protect these buildings and ensure objective information for the public.

Pristina Radio Reports Moves

AU0507191790

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1900 GMT on 5 July begins its newscast with the following statement: "Radio Pristina, first program. Dear listeners, good evening. Because of the introduction of temporary measures at Radio Pristina, our program has undergone changes, and we are unable to provide the regular program as of now. Under the circumstances and according to realistic possibilities, we will try to present you with a certain amount of news."

Reports follow on the Serbian Assembly's suspension of the Kosovo Assembly and the introduction of special measures in Pristina Radio, Pristina Television, and RILINDJA. The new directors and editors of the Kosovo media are named. A news item stating that Lithuania will not surrender its declaration of independence follows. The newscast lasts four minutes.

Albanian-Language Media Disrupted

LD0507210290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] We have just received news from Pristina through our colleagues there. Heavy police forces entered the building of Pristina Radio and Television at 1520 and interrupted the transmission of the daily albanian-language news bulletin. At that time the Belgrade Radio and Television orchestra was playing, and its members were thrown out of the building. The second radio program, transmitted alternatively in Serbian and Albanian, was also interrupted, but the daily news bulletin in Serbian was broadcast, but with a half-an-hour delay. At the time when the police broke into the Pristina Radio and TV building, the famous fighter for human rights, Professor Zekerija Cana, was also there. He has been taken away by the police and so far there is no news concerning his fate.

There is calm in the streets and heavy police forces are only present inside important institutions such as the radio and television, and RILINDJA.

More on Albanian Newscasts

LD0507204690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2014 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Pristina Television's regular broadcasts in Albanian did not broadcast news programs today. After a five minute delay it was announced on the screen that the studio was unable to broadcast its second daily news at 1930 [1730 GMT], and that it would transmit Titograd television news.

Pristina Radio did not broadcast its usual 1900 [1700 GMT] daily news in Albanian.

Pristina Radio and Television programs in the Serbo-Croatian and Turkish are being broadcast according to schedule.

Since this afternoon in the Pristina Radio and Television building, as well as in front of it, security measures have been noticeably reinforced.

Situation Reported Calm

LD0607084390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0742 GMT 6 Jul

[Text] Pristina, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—The first day after the adoption and implementation of the measures of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia began quitely in Kosovo. No incident or major disruption to public order were in evidence last night.

The handing over of duties from the provincial to the republican organs is being carried out without any particular problems. Difficulties have arisen, however, in some sections of the media. For instance, in RILINDJA, despite the temporary measures under which its director and editor in chief have been dismissed, the Workers' Council has reappointed Nazmi Misini as the papers's chief editor. The transmission of programs in Albanian, especially of news and current affairs programs on Pristina radio and television has been irregular.

Kosovo Delegates Locked Out, Meet on Street

AU0507175190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 90 p 1

[M. Antic report: "They Proclaimed a 'Republic' on the Street"]

[Text] Pristina—A special three-hour performance took place yesterday in front of the building of the Assembly of Kosovo whose actors were the ethnic Albanian delegates. They acted it out in front of about 20 foreign journalists and many more domestic journalists, photographers, and cameramen, about 70 in all. Even though three days ago an official statement by the Presidium of the Assembly of Kosovo announced an Assembly session for 5 July at 1000, they arrived yesterday before 1000 in order to, as they told us, "hold the session that someone from the Executive Council had called for today."

After waiting for half an hour about 10 meters from the Assembly's entrance, the ethnic Albanian delegates arrived at the entrance at precisely 1000 but the doors were locked.

Then a certain kind of theater production began for the benefit of the television cameramen and newspaper photographers, and interviews were given mainly to the foreign journalists so that the world could be told "how Albanians are banned from entering their people's Assembly." All this was observed from the sidelines by several hundred "chance passersby" who, since the early hours of yesterday morning, had occupied the main street in Pristina to be "at the disposal of the delegates." Only the usual security was in front of the Kosovo Assembly building at the time.

A group of seven delegates, led by Muharem Sabani, Adem Mikulovci, and Ramadan Keljmendi, tried to enter the Assembly building. Ten minutes later, Hakija Kadrovic, vice president of the Kosovo Assembly, came out of the building to address the Albanian delegates. He explained to them that the Assembly session "that you are requesting" had been scheduled for 5 July and that there was no need for them to carry on waiting and causing a commotion....

Those who had surrounded him, demanded to enter the building and asked who had ordered the Assembly to be locked and who the Assembly belonged to. Others said: "Open up or we will bust the door down," and pointed out that they had walked out of the session on the 22 June only on condition that the session be continued 2 July. One could hear people saying: "This is our, people's Assembly"; "We will not move from here until you open up"; "Be careful, the people elected you too".... Kadrovic tried in vain to explain that there was no need for this performance because the session would be held 5 July. Since he did not succeed in his intentions, Kadrovic went back into the Assembly building.

Pristina Television in Albanian with about 20 journalists, three cameramen, and a director who was pulling all the strings, recorded every detail in front of the Kosovo Assembly. By 1015, the Assembly was surrounded by more than a thousand citizens who loudly applauded the arrival of Ljuljeta Pulja, an activist from the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, who had brought Eva Brentli [name as published] and her guide-dog. Pulja said that Eva Brentli was "an expert in international law and that she had come to attend the session of the Kosovo Assembly as her guest." Otherwise, Ljuljeta Pulja is not a delegate of the Kosovo Assembly.

Three delegates from Geneva came to participate in the Kosovo Assembly session's work. They were representatives, as they called themselves, of the International League for People's Rights and Freedoms, the Movement Against Racism, and the International Commission for the Protection of People's Health and Rights. They did not want to tell us who had invited them. At about 1030, the delegates were joined by Iljaz Ramajli, vice president of the Kosovo Assembly, who, at the insistence of journalists, only said the following: "This is the first time that it has happened that delegates find themselves in front of the closed doors of the Assembly. That is not democracy." As vice president, he did not comment on the fact that an Assembly session had been scheduled for 5 July.

At this time, the situation around the Kosovo Assembly building was becoming critical. Several thousand people had already gathered who were heckling and shouting insults and threats. At this point, a somewhat larger militia patrol tried for the first time to move the gathering off the sidewalk without using force. However, they did not succeed. Several delegates succeeded in doing this by approaching the crowd and persuading them to disperse. However, all this lasted only a short period because they then gathered together again around the Assembly building.

Some time before 1100, a seven-member delegation entered the Assembly building. When they returned, we learned that they had not succeeded in talking to Assembly President Djordje Bozovic and Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, because "they were not in the building." They told us that they had been received by President of the Executive Council Jusuf Zejnulahu who told them, as they said, that he had not ordered the Assembly doors to be locked.
legates brought chairs from somewhere for Ljuljeta Pulja and Eva Brentli. They positioned them about 10 meters from the entrance to the Assembly where they sat. The foreign journalists and cameramen recorded this, along with a skillfully directed scene in which delegates can be seen in the background sitting or standing in front of the locked Assembly doors. During this time, the "star" of the last session of the Kosovo Assembly, Ruzdi Bakali, who announced the plan for Kosovo to leave Serbia, did not permit the delegates to speak to the Belgrade journalists. He gathered them together and said: "We did not come here to explain to them our goals, but rather to achieve it."

At ten minutes after 1100, a three-member militia patrol arrived in front of the Kosovo Assembly building and summoned Ljuljeta Pulja and Eva Brendli for a talk. Prior to this, the hosts of the three delegates from Geneva took their guests off somewhere.

The period from 1115 to 1230 was a "monotonous" time. The militia did not allow the citizens to gather around the building and the diminishing number of delegates were signing some paper.

When the interest of the foreign journalists started to flag in the scorching heat and they began to disperse, Muhamer Sabani hurriedly read out a "constitutional declaration" at precisely 1130 that was, as he said, signed by 114 delegates.

After that and the oath that "they will come on 5 July and achieve their goal," the delegates dispersed, and in Pristina's Marshal Tito main street they were greeted by applause from a large number of ethnic Albanian citizens.

Final Session of Kosovo Assembly Reported

LD0507163390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Summary] Pristina, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Non-Albanian delegates in the Kosovo Assembly have welcomed news of the impending dissolution of the Assembly and criticized the attempt of the group of Albanian delegates to proclaim Kosovo's independence.

"It will nevertheless remain on the records that this final session of the Kosovo Assembly in its composition hitherto was attended by only one delegate of Albanian nationality. This is Krist Gegaj, whose delegate base is the Kosovo League of Communists provincial committee, a man who otherwise has been dubbed in Albanian a traitor to his people.

"Tension in the Kosovo Assembly was not lacking on this occasion either. On the contrary, its resumption provoked anxiety and dilemmas when it was adjourned, and especially after the street proclamation of Kosovo as a republic, three days ago. Identity checks were stepped up today in the Assembly building, and even members of the Kosovo Executive Council had to prove their identity so that they might enter the Assembly's chamber. Uncertainty and tension were additionally increased by the knowledge that there were no delegates of Albanian nationality. [sentence as received] In the journalists office not one telephone was functioning, but the session was nevertheless opened after an rudimentary delay of about 15 minutes."

Majority Vote for New Serbian Constitution

LD0507142590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1058 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Serbia Republic opted for a new constitution giving it a majority yes vote.

The referendum for a new constitution was held on the initiative of the Republican Presidency. Under the new constitution multi-party elections will be held and new authorities elected.

The final returns of the July 1-2 referendum were announced today in the Serbian Assembly, showing that 96.8 percent of the 5,330,885 voters who turned out voted for the new constitution.

The referendum in Serbia's southern Kosovo Province met with difficulties and a boycott by the province's majority ethnic Albanian population. Two Kosovo communities, Kacanik and Glogovac refused to organize the referendum and registered no ballots cast.

Serbia has a total of 6.6 million voters.

Opposition on Referendum

AU0307152490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 90 p 4

[I. Radovanovic report: "A Premeditated Trick"]

[Text] Belgrade—The referendum which was proposed in the Serbian Assembly by Slobodan Milosevic is just a plain communist trick, a manipulation with which the people from the party in power want to obtain another unlimited mandate from the people for everything they have been doing. This is, in brief, the view which the three strongest opposition parties in Serbia—the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Serbian Democratic Party, and the People's Radical Party—expressed yesterday in front of foreign and domestic journalists during a news conference in the Student Cultural Center.

The news conference, which also represents the first reaction of the opposition to Milosevic's move, apart from the demand by the People's Radical Party that the opposition parties be allowed four days of access to the media, was started with a speech by Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement.

Draskovic first of all explained that the opposition does not have anything against referendums, but said that the referendum, through which the people are supposed to decide on whether to have multiparty elections first and then have a constitution drafted by the multiparty assembly, or to first have a constitution drafted by the communists and then hold multiparty elections, is not introducing anything new: "There is still only one horse and one jockey on the racetrack, and, as known, a choice cannot be made when only one horse and one jockey are present."

After Draskovic had said that the opposition's arguments are so superior that two to three days would be sufficient for the opposition to present them to the public, Kosta Cavoski, president of the Executive Council of the Democratic Party, took the floor.

Citing Machiavelli, he spoke about the Serbian leadership's lack of foresight, recalling that a year ago

Milosevic himself claimed that the adoption of the constitution (of that time) would finally resolve the question of Serbian unity and all Kosovo problems, but then "remembered" to say, when the opposition started to demand multiparty free elections, that Serbia is not sufficiently united after all, that things in Kosovo are not being resolved, and that a new constitution is needed more than elections.

Cavoski also said that the choice in the referendum was wrongly put and that the first question should have been: Who should draft the new constitution? Several parties or just one party? He also said that it is "very interesting" that the election commissions will again be composed of the same people, the same Communists who were members of these commissions last November, when they organized the "famous" free elections which the Communists themselves subsequently renounced. Milenko Radic, general secretary of the People's Radical Party, spoke next.

According to him, the referendum will be so "free" that one can already now predict its results: 70 percent will vote for the constitution-election combination. Radic observed that the opposition is constantly accused of being against the Constitution, which is not correct. He also said that "the Communists and their ideas have been exerting pressure on the entire nation for 42 days already." According to him, the entire swindle was skillfully carried out that "the people have started to think like the Communists," while the opposition is "accused" of cooperating with Kosovo alternative movements and people frightened by elections, "because elections would lead to the loss of Kosovo." And finally, he thinks that everything that has been happening serves the preelection campaign of the future Socialist Party, which wants to "retain money and people" only for itself.

Professor Jovan Marjanovic, vice president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, stressed that with this referendum the ruling party wants, in fact, to avoid more extensive and substantive talks with the opposition. In his view the referendum is nothing but the propaganda of the Communists' who are "covering themselves" with Assembly decisions and push people to fight for them. Marjanovic said that the speech by Slobodan Milosevic in the Assembly had many points in common with the program of the Serbian National Renewal, for which the members of this party had until recently been persecuted as Serbian nationalists.

Answering journalists' questions, the representatives of the opposition parties said that they will not organize a boycott of the referendum, nor demand that foreign observers be present, because "the referendum is not valid or binding."

They also presented their views concerning problems in Kosovo, explaining that the very people who created the Kosovo problem are now accusing them of betraying Kosovo. They also pointed out that the referendum was not envisaged to take place at this stage of constitutional changes.

As regards the future of the referendum, the members of the opposition parties expressed the belief that the referendum will end in the same way the elections held last November did, and that the people will realize that they were cheated again.

Kosovo Declaration Represents 'Violent Act'

AU0507161990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 90 p 8

[D. Pajic commentary: "United Separatists"]

[Text] Following the phony poisoning in Kosovo that was staged for the benefit of other countries, a group of delegates in Pristina yesterday held a mock assembly. Both events are closely connected with Ljubljana and are a product of a synchronized action (the Slovene delegates voted in favor of leaving the Yugoslav Assembly, while on the same day the delegates in Pristina voted on the street for the same thing).

The already familiar and transparent scenario from the Cankar Hall was in play again. However much they may be talking about a federation or a confederation, the aim of the separatists is still to break up Yugoslavia.

In brief, no one believes any longer in what they are saying, but in what they are doing. And they are doing nothing right for this country. This was obvious when they were behind the Stari Trg events and poisoning, as is obvious now with this assembly.

In fact, a group of delegates yesterday organized street demonstrations and held a typical separatist rally in front of the assembly. On this occasion they abused their delegate immunity: they were citing the SFRY Constitution, but proposed, in their declaration, its destruction.

Yesterday, the destroyers of Yugoslavia, one group in Ljubljana and another in Pristina, were working on the joint project.

The persistent continuation of the practice that was inaugurated in the Cankar Hall has, however, its price.

This time this practice is cruelly playing with people, their lives, and leads, in brief, to bloodshed.

The advocates of separatism have become nervous. At the time when the preliminary results of the referendum in Serbia show that the people have opted for their constitution (and the conditions of this referendum are very strict, as much as 51 percent of the electorate is needed to be "in favor"), separatists' work on creating a "Kosovo Republic," which they thought has already been completed, has failed, before both the foreign and domestic public.

Therefore, a group of delegates yesterday organized street demonstrations, but what was seen represents in

fact an escalation of violence in Kosovo. They disrupted the work of the legitimate Assembly whose session was scheduled for 5 July. If they wanted, they could have expressed their demands at that session.

The scenario of the Ljubljana-Kosovo separatists did not envisage the referendum in Serbia. The session had started in Ljubljana, so it had to also start in Pristina. What a transparency!!!

They want a republic by force. They are resorting to force everywhere. The so-called Albanian Alternative has virtually prohibited Albanians to take part in the referendum and vote either "yes" or "no." What are Rugova and his democrats afraid of?

The appeal to boycott the referendum means an order to vote "against." Why were the people, on this occasion Albanians, not allowed to take part in the referendum and express their view in a democratic way and without pressure, as the referendum requires them to do?

Instead, fear was sown so that the people do not come to the polling stations.

What was in fact demonstrated on this occasion was that Albanian separatists are even afraid of Albanians' secret ballot.

Instead of democratically expressing their view, yesterday they organized demonstrations which culminated with a declaration demanding nothing less than an autonomous state. These demonstrators yesterday decided that they are no longer a minority, but a Yugoslav nation!!!

All in all, this was yet another performance by Albanian separatists and their helpers.

What was done yesterday represents a violent act which the destroyers of this country have taken upon themselves attacking the constitution system of Yugoslavia and Serbia.

Deemed 'Insane Act'

AU0507204290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 90 p 1

[Milos Antic commentary: "The Range of a 'Republic' Proclaimed on the Street"]

[Text] Pristina—Whether one wants to admit it or not, the foundations of Yugoslavia were more seriously shaken on 2 July, 1990, than at any time since the war. If matters were to be assessed from a layman's point of view, it turned out that on that day, Yugoslavia "lost" one republic, Slovenia, and acquired "another republic." This is simply an optical illusion because it is more than clear why the Albanian separatists proclaimed Kosovo a "republic." In short, to secede, first of all, from Serbia and then immediately afterwards from Yugoslavia also.

If the Slovene parliament still had constitutional justification for its exploit, this single-nationality Kosovo "street" parliament (as some people are already calling it) has neither foundation nor justification in any valid constitution—either of Yugoslavia, Serbia, or Kosovo. They all clearly and precisely define the position of the autonomous provinces and specify the place and role of the nationalities, including Albanians. Thus, it is more than obvious that invocation of the federal constitution is an attempt to demonstrate the legitimacy of this separatist act to the world.

On the other hand, the Kosovo separatists forget that their situation is nowhere near the same as that of those with whom they seem to have associated. They have forgotten first of all that they live in the state of Serbia and on the territory of this state and, that, moreover, in Kosovo—where they are an ethnic minority according to international regulations—they are not alone but live with the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples and the Turkish, Muslim, Romany, and other nationalities. Not one representative of these peoples and nationalities has at any time or place expressed the desire to demand another republic along with their own—the state of Serbia—and even less the type of republic that would secede from it and Yugoslavia.

Only because of this fact—disregarding all other historic, social, political, and other facts—the separatist act by a group of ethnic Albanian delegates is null, void, and peculiar in its content. It is simply funny that one nationality—that is to say its "elected" representatives on the territory of an autonomous province which has a specific constitutional position determined by the constitution of the state that it is in—is imposing its will on other peoples and nationalities which do not want to live in another alien state. Moreover, they have done this in a distinctive and putsch-like manner, on the street and in the presence of representatives of the international media who had gathered for this "solemn" act.

Something sad and ugly happened in this insane act for all Albanians. As the leaders of the separatist movement assessed that the "new state" or the "new Kosovo," as they call it, cannot exist without a people, they have therefore converted the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia and proclaimed them a people. They have thus become world champions in producing peoples. Two Albanian peoples now exist in the Balkans, Europe, and the world: The one in Albania and the newly-proclaimed one. Even though this could have been expected from Yugoslavia—it is a bit too much.

Even though in their "constitutional declaration" the proponents of this separatist act express the "belief" that they will soon be "recognized" by the Constitution of Yugoslavia and the international community—that is they are openly calling on Yugoslavia and the world to recognize this "new state of Kosovo"—it should be said that all this looks more like children "playing at being statesmen" rather than something that even a slightly more serious world can take seriously. If states were acquired in such a way, through the destruction of already existing states, many other states would have

"sprouted up" in the world a long time ago, even before Kosovo. This is because, if someone in the world were to recognize Kosovo as a state, they would first of all have to forget the existence of Yugoslavia and Serbia as states. And, according to what this world has forgotten in the last few months, this is just a separatist dream.

It is another thing, but perhaps the main one, that the separatists have publicly and dangerously played with the standing of Yugoslavia and Serbia, that they have openly assaulted their constitutional integrity and sovereignty, and that they are not concealing their secessionist intentions. It is an exceptionally important question whether all those who carried out the whole "exploit," working "on behalf of all Albanians," will remain unpunished. It is more than dangerous to remain silent in the face of such a destructive act because it can only feed the appetites of the separatists who are aware that they cannot and dare not make their next move until they have seen the reaction of Serbia, as well as of Yugoslavia.

Any possible delay and vacillation in preventing this separatist act could lead to even more serious consequences because the first ones are definitely being felt. In some Kosovo communes, relations have already become exceptionally tense in some state organs, in which open conflict is threatening, and the schism between members of different nationalities is now total.

It is unnecessary to state what all this could develop into.

Kosovo Media Comments

LD0507193390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—The Albanian-language Kosovo media today devote great attention to the proclamation of the "constitutional declaration," according to which Kosovo "has acquired full subjectivity and an equal status" with other units of the Yugoslav federation.

"With Democracy Until Full Sovereignty," is the title under which RILINDJA published, on its front page, the reverberations of the—as it calls them—"historic decisions of the Kosovo Assembly." In the telegrams and letters which, the paper alleges, are arriving from all parts of the country, and also the world, "full support is given to the Assembly delegates of Albanian nationality because they respected the voice of the people and have expressed their will." Nothing else remains other than to "breathe life into all the decisions contained in the constitutional declaration," the paper concludes and adds that the citizens are requesting that 2 July, the day when "the constitutional declaration" was adopted, be proclaimed a state holiday in Kosovo.

There is also no lack of articles on "the ill-treatment of Albanians by the Serbian police." Thus, for example, a report from Prizren says that the police "thoroughly beat up" Abdulji Dakaj, a farmer from Korisa. It is alleged that as a result of this, this man had to be operated on in Pristina hospital.

The Albanian-language editorial office of Pristina Television also devoted attention to this "incident." Otherwise, the entire half hour devoted to the daily news, was, last night also, devoted to the constitutional declaration" and the reading of telegrams expressing support which have allegedly been arriving at these news centers from all areas.

In contrast to this, JEDINSTVO and Pristina Radio and Television in Serbo-Croatian have been making urgent demands for the dissolution of the Kosovo Assembly, for "the constitutional declaration" to be declared null and void, and for the participants in its adoption to have criminal charges brought against them. The urgent recall of Riza Sapundziju from the SFRY Presidency and the bringing of criminal charges against him is demanded. There is also a demand for the introduction of temporary measures in RILINDJA and the Albanian-langauge section of Pristina Radio and Television.

BORBA Alleges U.S. Link

LD0507130190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1013 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—"Kosovo's official authorities have been virtually ousted and ethnic Albanian citizens are represented by the Democratic Forum", Kosovo Social Democrat Party Leader Skeljzen Maljichi told Zagreb daily VJESNIK.

The Democratic Forum is a coalition of Kosovo parties rallying mainly Ethnic Albanians.

Maljichi accused Serbia Republic of "aiming for direct suspension of autonomy" and a "kind of annexation and occupation of Kosovo...which has caused a dominant stand among Ethnic Albanians for a seccession of Kosovo from Serbia".

The July 2 declaration of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance demanded recognition of a forum of sovereignty for Kosovo, but "there was no specific working on it becoming a republic or something else", Maljichi said.

He added that "he sees no great opportunity for peacefully solving the Kosovo problem" and stressed that "everything that is happening is a consequence of the falling apart of the Bolshevik system".

Belgrade daily POLITIKA said today that Kosovo Premier Jusuf Zeinulahu has become "a hardline advocate of the separatist policy of breaking up Serbia and Yugoslavia".

The daily accused him and other ethnic Albanian members of Kosovo's government and other high-ranking ethnic Albanians of enabling "political violence" in Kosovo. POLITIKA warned that Zeinulahu's steps were aimed at proclaiming Kosovo a republic at any cost.

Belgrade daily BORBA said ethnic Albanian efforts to achieve the Kosovo-republic goal includes a rumor that the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, to gain support, promised Americans the use of Kosovo's Trepca mining and metallurgy complex and the province's electric company. Other rumors listed by BORBA include ethnic Albanian leader Ibrahim Rugova taking power peacefully and proclaiming a state of the Albanian people, the U.S. delegation in the United Nations raising the question of the ethnic Albanian declaration at the next General Assembly and the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia being the first to recognize "Kosovo-Republic" and international recognition following later.

Segregation Reportedly Developing in Kosovo

AU0507173390 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 28 Jun 90 p 7

[Rrustem Rugova commentary: "Into Europe With Segregation!"]

[Text] If the first signs of segregation in Kosovo appeared two or three years ago, it is now clear that this blackest stain in the history of the human community, which has now been erased among the whites and blacks in the United States and South Africa and with the defeat of fascism and its nationalist-chauvinist ideology in Europe, has not only been slowly and quietly taking root but is becoming a bitter reality in this province of Yugoslavia.

In the name of the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism, the protection of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, and the supposed defense of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Serbia and Yugoslavia, segregation, or total division on the basis of national allegiance, began with the cooling of interethnic relations which began in 1981. National division began in public places, working collectives, offices, and institutions, and spread into factories and social and political organizations, until today when it has finally reached the Kosovo Assembly. However, the most serious forms of segregation began when Serbia decided not to pay its obligatory contribution to the federal fund to accelerate Kosovo's development, arguing that Kosovo is its own territory and that Serbia will invest these funds directly in "its own" province. Serbia then built industrial plants in Kosovo in areas where the Serbian and Montenegrin population is concentrated. Alongside this, new communes were also formed in Kosovo in places where there are larger concentrations of this population (Kosovo Polje, Zubin Potok, Strpce).

The factories in Kosovo Polje, Zubin Potok, Strpce, and many other settlements in Kosovo were filled with workers mainly of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality. At first, this seemed to be no great matter, and a realistic way of quietening the situation in Kosovo. The Serbian and Montenegrin population then demanded that their pupils and students should study in morning shifts and in separate buildings from the Albanians, and that students' dormitory halls and refectories should be similarly divided. These demands were also fulfilled with the "amen" of the responsible authorities.

Problems began in hospitals after the demands of the Serbian and Montenegrin population for divided hospitals, or the construction of new hospitals solely for Serbs and Montenegrins, on the excuse that Albanian doctors were not keeping their Hypocratic oath and were failing to care for the health of this population. The gynecological clinic in Kosovo Polje was immediately built, and the Pristina Health Center was divided.

The SFRY Presidency's state of emergency in Kosovo was then lifted, the Serbian Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs assumed the responsibilities of the Kosovo Secretariat, and a "parallel militia" was created in Kosovo. After the tragic events of January and February this year, the Albanian population deserted en masse the ranks of such sociopolitical organizations as the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Trade Union Confederation, and the Youth Federation, and joined the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, the Independent Trade Union Alliance, the Youth Parliament, the Peasants Party, and other organizations and associations parallel to the official structures, which retained the support of only the Serbian and Montenegrin population.

This was the beginning of the creation of a parallel power base [pushteti] in Kosovo, which continued with the creation of parallel leadership and self-managing bodies in working collectives, offices, and institutions. Recently, demands have also been heard for the division of Pristina Radio and Television, for the newspaper JEDINSTVO to be placed under the aegis of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, and so forth.

The Kosovo Assembly and its organs remained the last bastion against the division of power between the two largest ethnic groups in Kosovo, the Albanians on one hand and the Serbs and Montenegrins on the other. The Serbs and Montenegrins, upset at the demand of the Albanian delegates to annul the Assembly's earlier decision to integrate the large enterprises of Kosovo into the larger Serbian economic system, walked out of the meeting of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Kosovo Assembly held at the end of last month. The Albanian delegates held the meeting without the presence of the Serbian and Montenegrin delegates and took the step of annulling the decision on integration. President of the Kosovo Assembly Djordje Bozovic, and authorized by the Constitution and the regulations to sign the Assembly's decisions, did not wish to sign this decision. There followed the Albanian delegates' demand that the preparation and approval of a new Kosovo constitution should be included on the Kosovo Assembly agenda. The Serbian and Montenegrin delegates determinedly opposed this demand. Protesting this, the Albanian delegates remained for an entire night in the formal hall of the Kosovo Assembly, and when

somebody in charge of the maintenance of the assembly building extinguished the lights, spent a part of this night in darkness.

An unprecedented repressive measure against this followed in the approval of a republican law on the activities of republican organs under special circumstances in certain parts of the SR of Serbia, which in fact overrode the organs and institutions of Kosovo and any decisions they may take and gave the Republican Assembly or the republican organs the right to appoint officials and other people in charge of organizations, institutions, and working collectives in Kosovo.

General and total division on ethnic lines is now perfectly clear. It only remains to be seen what the end of this long-premeditated strategy and scenario will be. It remains to be seen whether and how the demand for the election and formation of assemblies and sociopolitical communities on the basis of parity, with as many Serbs and Montenegrins as Albanians, will be fulfilled, alongside the demands for the formation of all institutions and working collectives on the basis of parity, and the division or creation of parallel organs. Total segregation! The world today has put such divisions behind it, and Europe knew them only during the period of fascist domination, when Jews, Slavs, and other peoples who did not belong to "the leading Aryan race" were horribly persecuted and murdered.

Do we want to enter the democratic and civilized Europe of the 21st century in a common Yugoslavia with equal rights and freedoms for all, or with medieval Balkan primitivism, chauvinism, and nationalism, which has clearly not disappeared from all parts of Yugoslavia, and especially not from its eastern portions? Or will we enter Europe with the destruction of AVNOJ [Antifascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia, and according to the method in which those who want full republican sovereignty are allowed to hive themselves off and enter Europe? Meanwhile, Europe insists that it wants a stable, united, and democratic Yugoslavia with a multiparty parliamentary system, in which international conventions on human rights will also be respected.

Whether we enter Europe today or not, we will do so tomorrow. What is happening now to Kosovo and a section of the populace here and in other parts of Yugoslavia, especially Serbia and Montenegro, may continue for a while and to some people, but it cannot continue forever and to everyone! One day, the time will certainly come to overcome this situation in Kosovo, just as similar situations have been overcome, or are on the way to being overcome, everywhere in the world. Then, the people, meaning we Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and everybody else living in this territory, will bring before the court of history the culprits for this situation, unprecedented in our recent history.

Kosovo Democratic Alliance on Milosevic Talks

LD0407105190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0844 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—"We are willing to negotiate even with Milosevic, but only as equal partners." This was stated by Jusuf Burdzovi, secretary of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [Demokratski Savez Kosova], to NOVA MAKEDONIJA special reporter Panta Dzambazovski.

However, Burdzovi expressed his doubt whether Slobodan Milosevic will ever sit down with someone and talk with him on equal footing.

Referring to Milosevic's report in the Socialist Republic of Serbia's Assembly, Burdzovi said that the report is "a manifestation of hegemonist policy." He went on to express the view that the issue he raised about "open borders" refers mainly to Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Montenegro.

The Kosovo Democratic Alliance is for a federation, but should Yugoslavia become a confederation we want our "niche" for Kosovo in this confederative Yugoslavia, Burdzovi added. We shall not accept a constitution, he stressed, in which the Albanians have a subordinate status.

Serbian Socialist Alliance, LC To 'Merge'

LD0507164290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1531 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Socialist Alliance, the large-scale front organization in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, today decided to merge with the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia to form a new socialist party.

The leadership of the Socialist Alliance in the northern Serbian Province of Vojvodina also supported the proposed merging, stating that the majority of the members of this organization were for the proposal.

Both sessions criticized the declaration on constitutional sovereignty adopted by the most developed Yugoslav republic Slovenia, as well as the declaration on placing the Province of Kosovo into an equal position with the other members of hte federation which was adopted by ethnic Albanian delegates in Kosovo parliament.

The declarations were characterized as an open attack on the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional system of Yugoslav and Serbia.

Reaction to Slovene Declaration of Sovereignty

DELO Carries Text

AU0507161890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Jul 90 p 3

["Text" of the "Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia"; place and date not given]

[Text] In accordance with the will of all political parties and groups of deputies represented in the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia at its joint session on 2 July, 1990, adopted and promulgated "the Declaration on Sovereignty of the State of the Republic of Slovenia."
Article 1.

Proceeding from the Slovene people's right to self-determination and in accordance with Amendments 10, 11, 72, and 92 to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, and the provisions of the International Covenant on Human and Political Rights, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia proclaims the sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia.
Article 2.

The political, economic, and legal system of the Republic of Slovenia is founded on the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Slovenia. The SFRY Constitution, the federal laws, and other federal regulations are valid on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia unless they contravene the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Slovenia.
Article 3.

In accordance with the principle of state sovereignty and the principle of the supremacy of the Constitution and the Law of the Republic of Slovenia, the republican organs must ensure that all the federal organs and organizations on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia operate in line with the valid legal order in the Republic of Slovenia.
Article 4.

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia shall decide by a constitutional law which federal regulations are not to be used in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia because they are contrary to its Constitution and laws. The laws adopted by the SFRY Assembly after the adoption of this declaration are valid on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia if the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia expresses its consent to them.
Article 5.

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will carry out the prescribed procedure for the adoption of a new Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia within one year.
Article 6.

This declaration comes into force on the day it is adopted and festively promulgated at a joint session of the chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia.
Additional Decisions:

(a) The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia requests that the Executive Council of the Republic of Slovenia prepares, no later than the beginning of September 1990, a proposal for a constitutional law which will determine which federal laws are not valid in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia on the basis of this declaration.

(b) The delegates of Slovenia in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall no longer participate in the sessions of this federal body.

'Error' Noted in Declaration

AU0607101790 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 5 Jul 90 p 4

[Unattributed boxed report: "Error in Reading the Declaration"]

[Text] Several citizens have drawn attention to the fact that the wording of the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the State of the Republic of Slovenia as read [in the Slovene Assembly] differed in Article 2 from the wording as subsequently published, and in this connection the Information Service of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia states that an error occurred in reading and that what was adopted was the wording published in the daily press and still due to be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia.

Delegates Reportedly Recalled

AU0507121490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Slovenia Recalling its Delegates"]

[Text] There were rumors in the SFRY Assembly yesterday that the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia has decided to recall its representatives to the Federal Chamber.

Nobody has seen this decision yet, but some delegates in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces from Slovenia, confirming that this decision has been reached, commented on it with visible resignation. In their view, the withdrawal of the Slovene representatives from the Federal Chamber does not only question the reforms that are being carried out by the Federal Executive Council (how will the reforms that are in the sphere of competence of this chamber be adopted if the Slovenes are absent?), but also raises the question of whether, in view of this decision, Yugoslavia still exists.

They think that this decision is, to say the least, the wrong way of achieving the tasks that may not even be contentious, and that in reaching this decision Slovenia did not take into account what stand the international organizations, upon which our economic reform depends, will adopt toward Yugoslavia.

The Slovene delegates in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly were dissatisfied with the way in which the Slovene Assembly ignored its representatives in the Federal Chamber and the problems this body is trying to resolve.

Minister: SFRY 'No Longer Exists'

LD0507205490 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Yugoslavia no longer exists, stated Dimitrij Rupel, minister of foreign affairs of Slovenia, to the Roman daily LA REPUBLICA. He stressed that the confederation is Yugoslavia's only chance to survive as a community. "Slovenia Has Opted for Europe," is how the paper titled the interview, in which Rupel said: We are neither isolationists nor separatists. On the contrary, we want tight cooperation with European structures. We do not want to be the prisoners of Yugoslavia, Rupel stressed.

DELO Commentary

AU0507152090 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Jul 90 p 1

[Majda Vukelic "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Symbolic Act"]

[Text] Yesterday the Slovene parliament adopted the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the State of the Republic of Slovenia as an act of political will and the fulfillment of election promises by both the left and the right parties that have pronounced in favor of such a Slovene state. The proposal of the declaration had emanated from the ranks of Demos, but after the deputies realized that the content of such a declaration is an act of national and party accord, negotiations among the parties began.

Considering the significance that such a declaration possesses, even though it is just a symbolic and political event, it sounded rather ridiculous in the discussion yesterday that some deputies accused others of cowardice because they expressed some reservations. It is no longer at all a matter of who dares and who does not. Matters are too serious for anybody allowing himself nonsensical name calling.

It is clear that such a declaration cannot be without consequences. The beginning of the realization of self-determination and sovereignty of Slovenia is a long-term process, which cannot be accomplished with a single act, and certainly not with a declaration. Even a new Slovene constitution will not be the last act, because the Assembly then faces the adoption of a number of laws so that we may not suddenly land in a vacuum, when we sweep away some federal regulations and have none of our own yet. We will then probably notice that we have been much more closely linked with each other than we now suppose or dare to admit.

The Assembly will therefore adopt many more such decisions, less symbolic and more legally binding. They should not be a mere move to win cheap political points and sympathies.

Yugoslav Party: Declaration 'Invalid'

LD0507152790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0905 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—"The declaration on full state sovereignty of Slovenia is contrary to the constitution of Yugoslavia and is not an expression of the will of the Slovenian and other nations and nationalities in the republic, so therefore it is invalid" the statement of the Party of Yugoslavs of the Republic of Mecedonia sets out.

Members of the party do not dispute the right of a single Yugoslav nation to self-determination and secession. Such an act, however, the statement sets out, must be in accordance with the federal Constitution and based on "a plebiscite vote as means of a republican referendum, as well as in agreement with all Yugoslav citizens."

"We call on the Yugoslav public to condemn the separatist declaration from Ljubljana and insist that the Yugoslav State Presidency undertake all measures envisaged under the Constitution for protecting the order and territorial integrity of the country," the statement points out.

The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia on July 2 adopted a constitutional declaration on the right of Slovenia to secede from Yugoslavia.

Slovene Leaders Meet Estonian Delegation

LD0507160390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1110 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Republic of Estonia headed by Estonian Premier Edgar Svissarja, which is visiting the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia, today had talks on Estonian-Slovenian cooperation with Slovenian State Presidency President Milan Kucan, Parliament President Dr Franc Bucar and President of the Economy Chamber Marko Bulce.

The talks also covered current socio-economic and political events, as well as changes in Slovenia and Estonia.

No Disruption of National Assembly Work Noted

LD0507192790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Regardless of the declaration on Slovenian sovreignty and Serbia's decision to dissolve the Kosovo Assembly, there is no reason for disrupting the normal work of the SFRY Assembly.

In connection with these decisions—adopted under quite different circumstances and with different legal consequences—at the beginning of next week, a debate will be held in the Yugoslav Assembly's Committee for Socio-Political Relations.

The component federal organs, with the job of observing constitutionality and legality, will soon come out with

their stands, the chairmen of the legislative and legal commissions of the two chambers, Mojse Kostic and Dr. Budimir Kosutic, stressed in a statement to TANJUG.

Markovic Interviewed, Claims 'New Prospects'

LD0507171990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1230 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Paris, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic told the French periodical POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE that the Yugoslav Government offered the country new prospects to succeed in integration, and thus, at the same time, eliminate the crisis.

In an interview to the reputable foreign politics magazine, Markovic said that Yugoslavia was on a good way to come out of the long-lasting political and moral crisis, because an integration process is developing simultaneously with the disintegration attempts.

In response to who is running the country now since the break-up of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Markovic said that it would perhaps be more appropriate to speak about the "transfer of power from the League of Communists to the government in March 1989."

Milosevic, Tudjman 'Undermine' Bosnian Integrity

AU0307163090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 90 p 6

[Unattributed commentary reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE; date not given: "Clash of National Programs"]

[Text] The national programs that have been formulated by national parties in Croatia and Serbia are clashing on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina over their support for a greater Serbia or a greater Croatia.

Pretensions to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina from Croatia and Serbia are competing with each other and intentions are justified by the statements and plans made by the other side. A recent statement by Franjo Tudjman and one made in the last few days by Slobodan Milosevic have appeared in this context. Despite the differences and the occasions, both statements undermine the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina as an equal federal unit and state community of Muslims, Serbs, Croats, and other peoples who live in Bosnia-Hercegovina. These statements crudely negate the national identity of Muslims as one of the three most populous nations in Yugoslavia. It is more than certain that we are talking about open or contingency plans to divide and conquer the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina by redesigning the borders of an AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia.

The citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina, whose views we could hear in the last few weeks at the founding meetings of the Social Democratic Alliance in more than 1,500 local communities, have been showing their concern and anxiety over claims on Bosnia-Hercegovina and the negation of the AVNOJ concept of the equality of peoples and republics in Yugoslavia. They are embittered about statements that bring into question the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. They zealously support the programmatic aims of the Social Democratic Alliance in the struggle for the equality and togetherness of peoples in a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina and an AVNOJ Yugoslavia. They will not at any cost allow the dismemberment of Bosnia-Hercegovina. They are worried about the national groups and divisions that have increasingly been appearing in Yugoslavia and in Bosnia-Hercegovina in more recent times, which could lead to conflicts and clashes. People fear that the policy of national homogenization and discord could lead to civil war.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is a specific multinational community. The peaceful life of people in this region is not possible without mutual trust in national relations and the stability of these relations. This has so far not been lacking in the life of our peoples, but it is being seriously negated by the policy of national discord.

Bosnia-Hercegovina can resist attempts to redesign its borders and other borders in Yugoslavia only if it preserves internal cohesion in national relations between Croats, Serbs, Muslims, and the other peoples who live in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The struggle against the negation of Bosnia-Hercegovina will in future be very difficult, and it is possible to win it only by uniting all the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina through togetherness, equality, democracy, and progress, which is what all patriotically-oriented citizens in Yugoslavia want. Bosnia-Hercegovina, like the other republics, have all the prerequisites and opportunities to formulate a program of its life and development as a sovereign state community within orientations which would suit all the republics in Yugoslavia. Our orientation is Yugoslavia as a modern federal community integrated into Europe.

Situation on Albanian Border Reported 'Normal'

LD0507205790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Bozaj, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—There are no visible signs that Albanian border guards on the common border with Yugoslavia have received any instructions to

change the existing methods of work and checks on their side of the common border due to a tense political situation in Tirana.

The passenger and goods traffic on the Yugoslav-Albanian border at Bozaj in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro is normal.

Groups of Yugoslav tourists travelling to Albania are still having their passports stamped with entry visas at the border crossing. The travel agencies in the Montenegrin capital of Titograd and the Albanian Alb-Tours Travel Agency have since April of this year been organizing four weekly one-day and two-day trips to [word indistinct] (Scutari) and Tirana, respectively, with a prior permit from the competent authorities.

This practice was observed also yesterday when, with the usual examination of documents and without a prolonged wait at the border, 50 Yugoslav tourists and businessmen crossed into Albania and 52 crossed into Yugoslavia from Albania.

There were considerably fewer crossings at Bozaj today, however, as there are no tourist trips scheduled for Thursday [5 July].